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RECENT GAINS IN
AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

KIRBY PAGE

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RECENT GAINS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

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RECENT GAINS IN
AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

BY A GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED
CRITICS OF CONTEMPORARY LIFE

EDITED BY
KIRBY PAGE
EDITOR OF "THE WORLD TOMORROW"

Chautauqua Home Reading Series

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Kirby Page is editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW; author of a number of volumes on international and economic questions, including WAR: ITS CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND CURE; DOLLARS AND WORLD PEACE; AN AMERICAN PEACE POLICY; NATIONALISM AND IMPERIALISM; and co-author of CHRISTIANITY AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS; THE ABOLITION OF WAR; and MAKERS OF FREEDOM.

FOREWORD

SMUG contentment and sullen despair are equally perilous to society. Revolutions are caused more often by reactionaries than by agitators. If the privileged groups remain blind to injustice and exploitation, they are sure to provoke their victims into violent revolt. If, on the other hand, those who are laboring for a new social order become convinced that success cannot be attained by peaceable means, they are likely to advocate violence. Social progress is impeded alike by those ardent defenders of things-as-they-are who say that America is ninety-eight per cent all right, and by those extreme pessimists who despair of orderly change.

All the contributors to this discussion are known as highly competent students and discerning critics in their respective fields. The chapters recording gains in the various areas have all been written by men and women who were selected because they are thoroughly critical of the existing order and who, accordingly, are not likely to indulge in facile optimism. There will naturally be wide variations in opinion concerning the significance of the advances recorded, but there will be general agreement that the various interpretations have the ring of reality. Emphasis should be placed upon the fact that these writers are not attempting to draw up a balance sheet of the gains and losses in our civiliza-

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tion, but instead are concentrating upon one part of the task.

The latter phase of this evaluation is undertaken in the four concluding chapters. Here we have stimulating critiques of Western civilization by the foremost American philosopher, a professor of Christian ethics with a wide experience and a sensitive conscience, a social scientist who is thoroughly familiar with European thought and culture, and a distinguished Oriental scholar. These four essays contain much food for thought and will doubtless provoke wide discussion throughout this country and in other lands.

It will be obvious to the reader that this volume does not cover all phases of American life. There is one conspicuous omission which we deeply regret. A well-known dramatic critic had agreed to contribute a chapter dealing with recent gains on the stage and screen, but was unable to get his manuscript ready in time for it to be included in the present volume. This is most unfortunate as there is general agreement that very substantial progress is being made in the drama. Nevertheless, a sufficiently wide range of interests is included to make possible a rewarding survey of American civilization.

KIRBY PAGE.

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1. RECENT GAINS IN GOVERNMENT

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1. RECENT GAINS IN GOVERNMENT

by CHARLES A. BEARD

SOMEWHERE in the dusty annals of Congress there is a story to the effect that a horseman who was thrown from his mount and lay stunned for a few minutes exclaimed on coming to his senses: "What a violent disturbance of all nature!" Most verdicts on the question whether the Government of the United States is growing better or worse have about the same relevance to facts and arise from emotions about as significant as the explosion of the deposed rider.

When Mr. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation recently rendered a judgment to the effect that "the worst thing we have is the Congress of the United States," he was probably verbalizing the gorge that rose within as he contemplated the taxes levied on the incomes of persons and industrial concerns, rather than generalizing from a wide range of carefully selected data pertinent to the subject. Any one who has read a few tons of political literature about Congress knows that so-called public opinion respecting that ancient and honorable body has varied with the play of economic forces. When Congress was led by Joseph G. Cannon and was battling against the "progressive policies" of "Theodore the Meddler," it

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was the bulwark of our liberties against Presidential usurpation—in the minds of a certain selected list of editors. When a Republican Congress defeated the proposals of President Coolidge for tax retrenchment, a large section of the Republican press lustily applauded the speeches delivered before the Republican national convention in 1924 denouncing Congress and praising the strong executive from Northampton. It is one of the diverting characteristics of the human animal that when he wants any particular thing he makes a big noise about something else. While the strategy is good, it need not be taken seriously after church services are over. If some Socialist or mild-mannered professor should speak half as much evil of the executive, legislative, and even the judicial departments as conservative gentlemen have on various occasions, he would be strongly censured by the Society of Colonial Madames and perhaps prosecuted under some criminal sedition act. Almost anything can be said by a gentleman in a high hat, especially if he wears a boutonnière.

In reality is the Congress of the United States better or worse than at any previous period that one might select? I am not prepared to answer that question on the basis of minute and exact study of all relevant facts. However, I shall venture a few suggestions that may illuminate the problem. At the outset it is interesting

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to note that a very able American statesman, one of the framers of the Constitution of this country, thought that the first Congress was the biggest aggregation of "rascals" ever assembled on this continent. If one of the fathers entertained this critical notion, what can an ex-professor say? And Jefferson had about the same view of the first Congress. He thought it had too many members engaged in lining their own pockets with gold by their own legislation, and his verdict has been sustained by historical research. But let that pass. X

Is it not the fashion to compare our evil congressional days with the grand epoch of Webster, Clay, Hayne, Calhoun, Alexander H. Stephens, and Jefferson Davis? Who in the present Congress can compare with the great of old in oratory, statesmanship, intelligence, character, and disinterestedness? Has anybody ever tried to answer such questions as dispassionately as an engineer searches for a more efficient carburetor? I imagine not. Admitting that these mighty dead who rule us from the tomb were marvels in their time, it is necessary to add as a counterweight that they could not solve the one fundamental problem of their age and left it to be swept away in the blood of nearly a million boys in Blue and Gray. So much for intelligence. What about character? With respect to this point, it may be remarked that one of the greatest X

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of these dead but sceptered sovereigns had in his pocket a retainer from the United States Bank while he was speaking for that corporation on the floor of Congress, speculated in western lands while he was dealing with land legislation, gambled in Texas scrip while he was settling the fate of Texas, and gathered up clients while preparing bills relative to their interests.

Coming down to our own times, do we not hear opponents of the direct primary lamenting the horrible results of such devices as measured in the quality of congressmen? Are those who wear sack cloth and ashes in public places really worried about quality? I cannot say, but in support of their refrain, they refer to the great of the recent past, as compared with the Lilliputians of the present. I shall not traverse their judgment, but I shall merely suggest another problem: Name twenty-five United States Senators from the period between 1870 and 1900 and attach to each name one high and significant measure of law and public policy! It would be interesting to catch Mr. Dawes off his guard and hand him this conundrum.

To close this chapter, I put as a tentative proposition the thesis: The Congress of the United States, on a fair balance, contains as much capacity to deal with the problems in front of it (problems a hundred times more complicated than those of the eighteenth century)

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as in any previous period of its history and has today a higher code of public and personal honor (given the opportunities for speculation) than in 1890, 1870, 1833, or 1789, to be specific. Who can controvert it by reference to realities?

Tested by the legislation of the past twenty-five years, is the government of our time better or worse than in the epoch of 1875-1900, let us say? Probably there is no immovable moral center from which to make the survey. The reader can judge for himself by making a table of the great public statutes of the two periods.

If, however, one takes as a standard of measurement the ideals of the humanists and radicals of the past generation, the answer is clear. If you go back to the closing decades of the nineteenth century, what do you find the radicals demanding and respectability strenuously combating? A graduated income tax shifting to wealth some of the burden of federal taxation. Did not the Republican orators in the age of the full dinner pail denounce that terrible heresy? Did not the Hon. Joseph H. Choate condemn it roundly before the Supreme Court? Well, we have that graduated income tax now. Then there was the inheritance tax. That, too, was a penalty upon love of children. Well, we have that tax also. How ardently did the Populists demand a

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postal savings system in 1892 and how hotly did representatives of the express companies in the Senate denounce that bit of socialism! Horrendous! But we have the postal savings system. "Persons employed in interstate commerce should be assured compensation for injuries incurred in the discharge of duty," urged the Reds and Pinks of 1890. That was a dangerous scheme for making the honest rich support the improvident poor in the grand age of Spooner, Platt, Aldrich, and Hanna. But the statute now stands four-square on the federal law books and who thinks of repealing it? What about woman suffrage, that act of democratic justice to women? What a roar of laughter it raised in the Augustan age of John Hay. The year 1920 answered with the nineteenth amendment. The interstate commerce commission should have the power to set aside unreasonable railway rates and to determine fair rates. On the bastions of the gilded age, noble stalwarts with fire and sword fought desperately against the "anarchistic" host marching upward with this device on its banner. Consider the outcome. The catalogue could be extended indefinitely.

But it may be said that all this legislation is bad. Let the verdict stand. All that I here contend is that, judged by the standards of the reformers of 1890, more humane and democratic legislation running in the

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direction of greater economic justice has been put upon the statute books of the United States during the past twenty-five years than during the hundred and ten years that elapsed between the founding of the federal government and the inauguration of Benjamin Harrison. This result was accomplished by agitation, political action, economic pressure, and the spread of ideas.

Granting that the evidence of the statute books cannot be dismissed by assertions, what can be said of administration? Think of Daugherty, Fall, Doheny, Sinclair, and patriots of their school, it will be suggested. Yes, think of them. Just compare the worst possible version of their doings with the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal, the Whiskey Ring, the Black Friday episode, the Mulligan letters, and the Star Route Frauds, to mention a few diversions that arose in the nobler, ampler, purer days of our fathers. In those far-off times of richer wisdom, the federal government did not lease its mineral lands; it sold them for a song or permitted enterprising concession hunters to annex them without so much as saying thanks. No public conscience called for the preservation of national resources in the interest of the common good. Then came the great fight at the opening years of the twentieth century and the conservation legislation of 1910-20. The condemnation of Fall, Doheny, and Sinclair, however mild, must be

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ascribed to a change in American spirit. In 1877 these men would have all received honorary degrees for their foresight. Anyway, the federal government has its oil lands back and the participants in the episode are not yet Doctors of Law. Mr. Sinclair was prosecuted, tried—and acquitted by a jury of his peers. But what about the Hon. Harry Daugherty? He too was prosecuted, courageously and energetically prosecuted, and a jury of his peers failed to convict him. No person as highly placed in federal politics in the nobler, purer days of our fathers, when the Whiskey Ring was operating, was prosecuted for anything. Small fry was indicted, convicted and pardoned. Complacency is dangerous and silly, no doubt; so is false historical sentimentality.

Considered in more prosaic terms, in terms of concrete services rendered to the people, the Government of the United States in this age has outstripped its record in all previous periods. True, it is the fashion to rail against the bureaucracy and it has its faults, everybody knows. But one of the chief reasons for the abuse of the bureaucrat is his refusal to bend and yield the law to powerful pressure after the style of political appointees engaged in making hay and acquiring a law practice while the sun shines. How many gentle readers who daily abuse the federal administrative system know anything about the careers of the bureau

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chiefs in Washington, the scores of devoted public servants who carry on the business of the government? How many critics could give an accurate ten-word statement about the work done by the Bureau of Standards, the Children's Bureau, the Weather Bureau, the Bureau of Animal Industry, the Bureau of Entomology, the Forest Service, the Reclamation Service, or any other significant division of the federal administration? What do the names L. O. Howard, W. A. Taylor, W. B. Greeley, C. W. Larson, J. K. Haywood, F. H. Newell mean to the possessors of glib tongues, who frame trenchant periods about bureaucratic leeches on the dear taxpayer? If it could be done without disaster, it would be fine fun to have all the federal employees quit work for a month—in these sad days of degenerate sons of Catonian sires.

“Ah, yes, but consider the primaries and elections,” we are warned by the highly critical, “Vare, Pepper, Col. F. L. Smith, and their company.” No doubt; there they stand, but probably not forever, like Massachusetts. To read the laments of the purists about the use of the coin of the realm in elections, one would think that such things had never been heard of in the golden age that has passed. If those who regret the adoption of popular election for United States Senators are to be believed, the extensive application of money to that

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form of business enterprise was never allowed previous to the great year of 1913. Their historical lore betrays them.

Did any one of the present audience ever read of the celebrated election of W. A. Clark to the august Senate of the United States in the twilight of the impeccable gods, the end of the nineteenth century? If not, let him examine the Senate documents in the case, presenting satisfactory evidence that, considering the size of Montana and the relative cost of living, the recent lucrous carnival in Pennsylvania was a Sunday school picnic by comparison and, considered from the standpoint of pecuniary correctness, a fair counting-house model. Then there was the election of Marcus A. Hanna to the same United States Senate a few years before—an election which fairly shines with the lustrous beams of the golden age, even when seen in the best light. Nor must we forget in this relation the long and spectacular fight of J. E. Addicks in the Delaware Legislature, lasting with intermissions from 1895 to 1903 and decorated with picturesque episodes. Besides these notorious incidents, there were doubtless many more, equally entertaining, which escaped the record because no doubter or kicker exploded the inner works.

On any reckoning, it seems safe to say that every

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election scandal which has arisen during the present century can be paralleled by one equally shocking to tender minds taken from the documents handed down by the sainted fathers. Nor does it seem to be established that any of the merchant princes who helped Clark, Addicks, and Hanna, ever gave lavishly to maintenance of metropolitan symphony orchestras, thus setting noble examples for Mr. Samuel Insull, who recently contributed generously to the campaign fund of a friend in Illinois. Moreover, it could probably be shown on a fair inquiry by a certified public accountant that more of the so-called slush funds of recent times have been spent on legitimate publicity campaigns than was the case in earlier transactions of the same sort. If the archives reposing under the dust in the offices of the United States Senate are to be taken as authentic, nearly all of the money spent by the late W. A. Clark in elevating himself to the upper chamber in Washington took the form of subventions made to members of the Montana Legislature for services rendered. "I have known a member of the Supreme Court of the United States to apply for free transportation, the money value of which was in a single instance between two and three hundred dollars. Governors of states, United States Senators, members of the House of Representatives, members of every depart-

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ment of state government from the governor to the janitor ask and expect to receive such favors," wrote the second vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad in the year of perfection, 1894. No such exhaustive list could be truly compiled in the year of the degradation of the democratic dogma, 1927.

In state, municipal, and local government, the advance during the last twenty-five years has been, perhaps, more apparent to the casual observer than in the realm of the federal government. Finances have been placed upon a sounder basis than ever by constitutional limitations, by improved budgetary methods, by stricter accounting control over expenditures. No doubt treasuries are still looted sometimes, our states offering more horrible examples than our cities in this relation. Political manipulators are often rewarded with jobs and appropriations. But wide areas of state and municipal finance are now laid open to daylight by standardized procedures, making impossible the kind of brazen jobbery that characterized the glorious era of Webster, Clay, and Jackson, when P. T. Barnum was in the Connecticut Legislature. Let any doubter compare the wild-cat currencies and high-handed repudiations of Emerson's golden day with the financial situation of our own times.

In every branch of social legislation immense gains

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have been made. It was in the year of grace 1911 that the highest court of the State of New York by a unanimous decision declared a workmen's compensation law unconstitutional "because it authorized the taking of an employer's property without his consent and without his fault and giving it to the employee without a hearing in any judicial proceeding." At that very hour, there stood foursquare on the law books a judicial decision by the Supreme Court of the United States (the *Lochner* case) invalidating a statute of New York regulating the hours of working people in bake shops, where sanitary conditions were notoriously bad. It looked as if the whole program of humane legislation was to be smashed by the constitutional club.

Where do we stand now? The constitutional barrier which the New York court threw in the way of workmen's compensation was removed with a rush by the adoption of a constitutional amendment at the polls, authorizing the legislature to enact laws safeguarding the life, health, and safety of employees and to pass compensation legislation. The constitutional barrier erected by the federal Supreme Court was swept aside by the drive of public opinion which, in effect, if not technically, reversed the doctrine of the *Lochner* case. It is true that Taft, McReynolds, and Butler, to go no further, are still playing in Washington tunes which

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they first heard about 1890, but the inherited jurisprudence of crude acquisition is inevitably yielding to the humanism of the twentieth century—this, in spite of the Arizona minimum wage case. Informed and determined criticism helps on the process. Let those who have doubts spend ten hours looking over the files of the *American Labor Legislation Review*.

Wherever we turn in state government—to health legislation, to the care of defectives and delinquents, to appropriations for the public schools, to the opening up of backward regions by highway improvements, to that wide range of activities loosely grouped under “social welfare”—we find advance all along the line. A cross section of state administration in 1870 as compared with a cross section in 1927 is itself an education in the processes of democracy—that poor thing so successfully despised by the triumphant civilizations of Hungary, Italy, and Russia! Looking backward, there is encouragement. Considering what remains to be done, however, there is an undeniable challenge to our powers of imagination and action.

Of the change for the better in municipal affairs there can be no question in the mind of any person who has studied our recent history. All know that Bryce said in 1888 that “the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States.” Two years

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later, Andrew D. White set down his conviction: "Without the slightest exaggeration we may assert that, with very few exceptions, the city governments in the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt." About thirty years later, the editor of the *American City Magazine* (November, 1923) published columns of testimony from Bryce, Lowell, J. Allen Smith, Goodnow, and Munro, and other distinguished authorities bearing witness to immense improvements made in municipal administration since the closing decade of the nineteenth century. On any fair view, it must be said that streets are better paved, kept, and lighted, that public school buildings are models of perfection as compared with the dingy, ugly structures of the nonpareil nineties, that a revolution has been wrought in municipal sanitation, that both in legislation and judicial decisions touching housing conditions great strides forward have been taken, that everywhere a finer sense of cleanliness, decency, and beauty is being revealed. In the rapid growth of the city planning projects, the adoption of zoning and planning ordinances, and the beginnings of designs based upon broader concepts of social values there is a promise of a greater day than the average citizen has ever dreamt of. In the wide extension of the municipal re-

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search movement there is a pledge that the functions undertaken by our cities will be carried out with increased skill and efficiency. Far be it from me to indulge in any childish optimism or to underestimate the magnitude of the tasks remaining to be undertaken, but there is no denying the gains made by the generation now passing.

About county government, the less said the better. In that sphere where Jefferson's independent, upstanding farmers, as distinguished from "the mobs of the great cities," control affairs, little if any advance is to be recorded, and that little is to be ascribed largely to restraints and obligations imposed upon recalcitrant communities by state authorities. In rural government, aside from what has been accomplished by federal and state intervention, we stand about where we did in the days of McKinley, Hanna, and Bryan.

Over against this record of improvement in various fields must be set, in deference to truth, a story of decline in our ancient ideals of liberty. This decline is unmistakably registered in laws designed to force "pure history," in many cases falsified history, on the children in the schools. Proof of this is to be found in Dr. Bessie L. Pierce's important book on "Public Opinion and the Teaching of History." The decline is registered also in laws throttling the teaching of

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science and prescribing a return to pre-Copernican days. It appears in startling form in state and national prohibition laws and practices, sanctioning the invasion of homes, the assault of persons, the seizure of property, and on technical grounds what amount in effect to murder. For example, a doctor is hurrying to see a patient at night; he is ordered to stop by a prohibition agent who may be in plain clothes and hence to the driver of the car one of the numerous bandits that infest the country; the doctor refuses to stop, fearing robbery if nothing worse; he is shot by the aforesaid agent. Is the agent guilty of murder? Hardly, in any case; and certainly not if he can make out some kind of claim for "suspicion." Again, this decline in liberty is to be discovered in innumerable laws interfering with social and economic opinions which by no far-fetched reasoning could be connected with probable revolution by violence. Moreover, this great structure of oppressive laws is crowned by volumes of judicial opinions rendered since 1917, opinions which slay liberty at the altar while paying lip homage to it.

Unquestionably Professor Chafee is right when he says that restrictions on civil liberty before 1917 were not as serious as those since that historic date. As he points out, there were in the older days of the republic influential persons, such as John Marshall, Thomas

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Jefferson, William Ellery Channing, and John C. Calhoun, who were ready to protest vigorously against infringements of personal rights. "The arbitrary arrests of Southern sympathizers during the Civil War," he continues, "met with strong judicial opposition and were finally denounced by the Supreme Court in the Milligan case. Contrast the attitude of the courts towards suppression during the World War. It has only been since 1900 that European radicals lost the right of political asylum in the United States." In our own time, the Hon. Charles E. Hughes has been almost the only statesman of national reputation who has protested against legislation and judicial decisions violating liberty, and even he as Secretary of State succumbed to the practices he had assailed—for example in the Karolyi case. Where in all the land is there another leader of his position and power brave enough to speak out against violations of private rights? Where are the Burkes, Erskines, and Broughams of our day willing to defy mobs in defense of the right to express opinions which they do not share? To overlook these things would do violence to the traditions of Jefferson and Lincoln and evade issues of the highest significance to the peaceful and progressive development of democratic society.

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Passing from domestic to foreign affairs, it is not easy to discover evidences of increased intelligence, capacity, and humanity. It would be a strain on the reasoning faculties to place recent Secretaries of States above or even on the level with such distinguished predecessors as Jefferson, Madison, and John Quincy Adams. Nor has any marked change for the better appeared in the spirit of our foreign policy. As Ambassador Houghton said in his commencement address at Harvard University in the spring of 1927—one of the most remarkable state papers ever presented to this nation, revealing high courage and insight on the part of the author—foreign relations, still as in the long past, are dominated in every country by a handful of men temporarily in authority.

The United States, under the Ambassador's rule, offers no exception. The subjection of diplomacy to the larger interests of democratic societies is yet to be achieved. At any rate, administering the water-cure in the Philippines, shooting Mexicans at Vera Cruz, killing native objectors in Santo Domingo, and bombing Nicaraguans are hardly to be viewed as acts indicating a moral advance in foreign policy. They were acts ordered by a few men clothed with public power and they were committed primarily in the interests of

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trade- and concession-hunters looking for lucre in the countries concerned. The fine phrases of the white man's burden-bearers are afterthoughts useful to sugar the pill for the taxpayers. "The real duties of a Secretary of State," said John Hay who knew them at first hand, "seem to be three: to fight claims upon us by other States; to press more or less fraudulent claims of our own citizens upon other countries; to find offices for friends of Senators where there are none."

Whether foreign policy can ever be based upon some concept of moral and esthetic grandeur and subdued to the ordinary decency that governs the private conduct of gentlemen remains one of the Delphic mysteries of the future. As before the World War, statesmen pay tribute to peace, make high-sounding speeches about it, and draw up treaties professing to favor it (always with adequate reservations), but meanwhile governments are spending relatively more money for armaments than in the dangerous years before 1914. Only a cheerful haruspex is obsessed by hopeful confidence in the divining powers and pacific intentions of foreign offices—or the pacific desires of roaring populaces. In an age when the State Department will secretly give out to the press as "authentic news" alarming statements about a neighboring country and when the President will issue to the public sharp statements ominous

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of war, criticizing a friendly government, it is no time to be complacent about "the continuous improvement of international relations." Unfortunately the country does not produce enough diplomats possessing the spirit and courage of Ambassador Morrow.

By way of summary it is here contended that immense advances have been made in American government—advances in efficiency, in standards of public honor, social justice, and humanity. These gains have been made by the insistence of agitators, the endless discussions of the fireside, forum, shop and office, the pressures of citizens' committees, the writings of critics, the logical and sentimental appeal of constructive proposals, in short, by the activities of millions of men and women, most of them unknown to the pages of written history, who have thought, written, spoken, and dared. A word, an article, a pamphlet, a speech, or a book may set in motion forces of incalculable moment. Such is the mystery of the world in which we work—the unforeseen potentialities of what men and women think and do.

Such are the processes of democracy. No political party can claim all the credit or the major part of the credit for the achievements that have been made. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a single great measure of public improvement originated,

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espoused, and carried to victory by any one party single-handed. As a rule parties evade, dodge, and equivocate—of necessity—until one or all of them are compelled to act by that elusive force, so often despised by the very wise, namely, public opinion.

2. NEW OUTPOSTS OF BUSINESS AND
INDUSTRY

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THE TRAGEDY OF WASTE, GETTING
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2. NEW OUTPOSTS OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

by STUART CHASE

THERE are today in America at least ten corporations—not including banking firms—in the billion dollar class. In sheer size, bulk, power, they represent a tremendous gain over ten years ago; indeed over any other period in the world's industrial history. It is not my purpose, however, to present the evidence for gains of this nature. The popular magazines, the journals of business, have covered the growth in the assets, sales, concentrated power of business enterprise with commendable thoroughness. The story is there for all to read, and an amazing story it is. The problem to which I address myself is somewhat different, and far more complicated. What has the wayfaring man in America gained by virtue of these expanding corporate balance sheets, where the millions merge into billions, and the most stupendous financial power which the world has ever seen climbs yearly to more incredible levels? The criterion here is gain in terms of social welfare, rather than in assets, capitalization, and the statistics of foreign investment.

What have business and industry done in recent years to make America a better place to live in for the majority of her citizens?

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To one who has tended to view modern business with a somewhat bilious eye; to assess in no uncertain terms its wastes, its paradoxes, its frequent injustices and absurdities—the invitation to inventory its virtues comes as a particularly stimulating challenge. It will be a pleasure for once to exchange a shower of bricks for a shower of nosegays—if there are any nosegays—and so accord honor where honor is due. American business has been such a steadfast enemy that I have conceived almost an affection for it. It is time that I canvassed its good points more thoroughly.

Initially we must, following Veblen, make a distinction between *business* and *industry*. Industry is the physical mechanism by which goods are produced and distributed—the fields, factories, transportation systems, warehouses, retail stores. Its servants are the men and women who handle the machines, the tools, the raw materials, and the finished goods. Business and finance, on the other hand, are the paper shadows above this underlying structure of steel, kilowatts, acres, yards, and tons. Business deals primarily in terms of price rather than in foot pounds. Its field is the money and credit structure—a fearful and wonderful edifice, compounded of statute law, custom, astute brigandage, and sheer inertia; nine parts metaphysical in that it bears no fixed relation to the laws of physics and chem-

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istry which govern industry, and now grown so complicated that no man knows what to expect from it next. Who will trace the curve for the coming year on the New York stock exchange or give any dependable date for the next business depression? Industry is a matter of engineering and applied science; business is a matter of guess work, speculation, and rule of thumb. It is, accordingly, far more exhilarating than industry, and has become the greatest game—played for the highest stakes—on earth.

Whether this game has brought about any improvements in the lot of the wayfaring man in recent years, I do not know. It is too tortuous a road to follow. I profoundly doubt, however, whether the money and credit structure running largely wild as it does at present—consider the way it picked the State of Florida out of the Gulf of Mexico, bore it to the clouds, and then dashed it down on its face to break into a thousand fragments—I profoundly doubt if it can bring any permanent amelioration to the lot of the average citizen. It must be controlled and roughly geared to the physical performance of industry before we can expect much from it save booms, smashes, outrageous profits, needless and tragic processions of insolvencies. One or two commendable features in the direction of such control will presently be noted. But of business,

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the resplendent anarchy, I neither hope much nor am able to record anything in the way of tangible social achievement.

Business at once stimulates industry and then throttles it. The present industrial structure in America could double the standard of living if business would allow it a free hand. But half our plant capacity is always idle on the average, while the load of competitive cross hauling and high pressure distribution is appalling. Of the dollar which we pay as consumers for oil heaters, vacuum cleaners, washing machines and other electrical labor-saving devices, only 35 cents goes to the producer, while the distributor uses up 65 cents in advertising, canvassing, and the higher salesmanship generally.

If we widen the definition of business to include industry it is possible to identify and to record a number of significant gains which have accrued to the common citizen in recent years. Perhaps no better account of them is to be found than in Dr. Tugwell's *Industry's Coming of Age*, from which many of the following figures are taken.

American industry, partly encouraged by business enterprise, partly in spite of the attempts of business men to sabotage a free productive flow, has been throwing out a constantly increasing stream of goods—a stream which, since the depression of 1921, has been

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growing consistently faster than population has been growing. As a result, there is more to go round than there used to be, real wages have definitely increased, the standard of living of the American people has gone up. There is no blinking this cardinal fact.

Let population and industrial production by weight be represented each by an index number of 100 in 1914. Today population will stand at 117, while production will stand at 135. Since 1914 the stream of goods has been increasing twice as fast as population has increased. Meanwhile at the present time our farms are producing 13 per cent more with approximately the same man power that was employed in 1914. Our railroads are carrying 22 per cent more traffic by weight with no increase in man power. Meanwhile there is over three times as much electrical energy at work as there was in 1914.

If we represent the output per man hour in various industries as 100 in 1913, the output by 1925 had grown as follows:

Steel	153
Automobiles	310
Cement	158
Leather	128
Petroleum refining.....	177
Rubber tires	311
Flour milling.....	139

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The same number of men can now make over three times as many automobiles and tires as they could in 1913. They can produce three tons of steel where they formerly could produce but two. They can refine seven barrels of oil as against four in 1913. In nearly every branch of industry, the same phenomenal growth in output per man hour is to be noted—from 25 to 200 per cent more than was the case a dozen years ago. In a few specialized industries, the increase will run into thousands of per cent increase. The bulk of the increase, furthermore, has come since 1920. The war, the final acceptance of the principles of scientific management (and bitterly they were opposed when Frederick Taylor first laid them down), the demand for motor cars, the opportunity furnished by the collapse of European industry after 1918—a score of things—have contributed to this phenomenon. Dr. Tugwell believes that it marks a new industrial revolution, as important in its way as the introduction of steam power, 150 years ago. Perhaps he is right.

A drastic increase in production per man hour is significant and important, but it means nothing in terms of human welfare unless it can be demonstrated that it has resulted in a relatively greater total volume of goods and that this volume is not flowing exclusively to the rich or into ships for export, but is coming, in

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part at least, to strengthen the budget of the way-faring man. This fact can be demonstrated. If we take the income per gainfully employed worker in the United States as 100 in 1910, his average income in subsequent years may be expressed as follows—*using 1913 dollars throughout the calculation:*

1910	100
1915	102
1920	109
1921	107
1922	118
1923	134
1924	135
1925	140
1926	143

The figure for 1926 is based on a national income of \$89,682,000,000 divided by 44,600,000 persons gainfully employed (about \$2,000 each), and then reduced to an index number cast in 1913 dollars.

It is highly improbable that the average working class family is now 43 per cent better off in terms of food, shelter, clothing and comforts than it was in 1910, but we know from other careful statistical studies that neither the rich nor the export trade can account for the total increase. We know from careful wage studies that real wages have been increasing. A con-

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siderable share of the new river of production is flowing in the direction of the average man. If he is a farmer, he has not received much of it; if he is a textile worker or a bituminous coal miner, he has not received much of it, but if he is an automobile worker, a building trades employee, a salesman, or connected with many other occupations, he has slightly more necessities and a number of more comforts and luxuries than he had in 1910. One only needs to remember that there are some 25 million motor cars in operation in the United States to drive this point home.

Industry has given the average citizen more things. He is materially better off than he was ten years ago. This is the first and greatest gain which we have to record.

How much happier these things have made him is, of course, another question. For the skilled workers, the clerks, and the middle classes generally, they have operated to intensify the struggle of keeping up with the Joneses—aided and abetted by the massed forces of advertising, directed by skilled psychologists. Today one feels naked without silk stockings, lipstick, a manicure set, a permanent wave, Arrow collars, Fisher bodies, a radio, a copy of *The Story of Philosophy*, a cocktail shaker, a gasoline cigarette lighter, and a membership in the Elks. We have bathrooms loaded down

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with toothpowders, dental floss, shaving creams, bath salts, patent sprinklers, old safety razor blades, germ destroyers, and lotions guaranteed to increase our popularity at dances—but just how much more cubic space we have to live in since 1914 is not so clear. We have more clothes—at least we men have—but they go out of style faster, and their quality is adjusted to the style shift rather than to durability. Business has deliberately introduced a high factor of obsolescence into all manner of consumer goods in order to stimulate turnover. Meanwhile how much of this increased volume of goods, which we undoubtedly get, is composed of really useful and satisfying products, and how much is artfully sold junk to titivate the essential monkey in us, remains an open question.

But making all due allowance for a vast increase in junk piles, in conspicuous consumption, in buying to best the Joneses, in manhandling good timber and good iron ore in a thousand vulgar, useless ways—the stubborn fact remains that the American standard of living has gone up, and the pressure of stark economic necessity has been appreciably relieved. Two-thirds of all American families still live in relative poverty, slums continue to flourish, but the wolf is back of the garage instead of at the kitchen door.

A second major gain is the fact that coincident with

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an increase in industrial output, hours of labor are steadily tending downward. Eight hours is now the almost universal rule in industry—following the recent capitulation of the United States Steel Corporation. Some manufacturers, led by Henry Ford, are advocating and operating upon the five-day week. What, indeed, is left of the lofty moral case of the Victorian man of business who kept his employees laboring to all hours of the night to keep them out of mischief? Where are the proverbs of Satan and the Idle Hands? Nowadays the right of the working man to a certain amount of leisure is an accepted principle. It does not do perhaps to speculate upon how far that acceptance has been won because engineers have found that as much output can be produced in eight hours as in ten or twelve, while the loss due to industrial accidents at the peak of fatigue at the close of day is very much diminished. In other words, the eight hour day is not only more human—it pays. After one hundred years of a mulish defiance of this principle, business is beginning to accept it on a very wide scale in America. The gain in social welfare is undeniable.

Thirdly, we have to note certain ameliorating trends in the status of women and children in industry. Child labor relative to the population steadily declines—though the number which remain is needlessly and out-

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rageously large. Meanwhile a curious and significant shift is taking place in the employment of women in industry. They are going out of hard manual agricultural work and factory work, where biologically they do not belong, and entering clerical and light manufacturing positions which are far better adapted to their basic needs. "Where have women gone? . . . The principal increase is to be found in a grouping called 'public service and professions,' where the percentage rose from 19 to 28 in the ten years between censuses. Those employed in factories dropped from 14 to 10 per cent of the total employed between 1910 and 1920. These figures show that women are not being forced into more and more routinized occupations, but are rapidly increasing in those occupations which offer them the greatest possibilities for the employment of their utmost capabilities."¹

There has been, in the fourth place, a marked improvement in working conditions inside of factories and a wide extension of so-called welfare work both inside and outside a given industrial plant. Factories are being built with more windows, with better lighting facilities, with benches and seats more adapted to human beings rather than to dwarfs and giants, with safety guards on dangerous machinery, with ventilat-

¹ *Industry's Coming of Age*. R. G. Tugwell, p. 104.

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ing systems, with temperature control, with noise and sound control devices, with better sanitary and toilet equipment. Like the reduction of hours, these measures have been promoted less by virtue of their common humanity than the fact that they operate to increase output and pay dividends. But our task is not to assess motives but to chronicle tangible achievements. Whatever the reasons, the fact is that workers in factories, mines, railways, steamships, offices, have, on the average, better—or less evil, as you choose—working quarters than they had ten years ago, even five years ago. They have more light, air, cleanliness, comfort. This is a real gain from the human standpoint.

In respect to the increase in welfare work, the case is not so clear. How shall we appraise these restaurants, libraries, club rooms, ball fields, house organs, glee clubs, insurance schemes, company housing developments? That such things are often good in themselves is not to be denied. In Russia, under a communist government, we find them in operation on a very extensive scale. But in Russia they are run by the trade unions, while in America they are run by the corporation. The physical fact is often the same in both cases. But the spiritual fact is utterly different. One is handed down from the top and may be revised or annulled at a moment's notice. Often welfare work is substituted

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for gunmen and spies as a device to discourage unionization. It is cheaper and more effective. In its operation the participants are severely limited in their functions. They are objects of benevolence or strategy, as the case may be. In Russia, the participants run the welfare organization. It is theirs; it cannot be taken away from them; if there is any amending to be done, they do it. The gain in both self-respect and the true enjoyment of the facilities is enormous. I must—per-
versely if you will—place a question mark over the real gain in human welfare which comes from corporation welfare work in American industry. For the children of workers who share in the better housing, the playgrounds, the swimming pools, perhaps a real gain is to be noted. For the adults, as free citizens, the point is dubious.

In the fifth place we have to record a number of improvements in the technical operation of industry which operate to reduce waste, friction and loss. The effect of these improvements on the average citizen is not directly measurable, but in the long run they tend to reduce costs and prices and so find their way into the family budget.

There is, for instance, a growing tendency in industry to promote members of the managing staff on the basis of merit and ability rather than on the basis

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of seniority and pull. There is sound work being done in adjusting jobs to workers, following biological and psychological studies in rhythm, muscular coördination, the chemistry of fatigue. There is more and more standardization being introduced into grading raw materials, and into all sort of intermediate industrial processes. Standardization of products for ultimate consumption is often an unmitigated curse, but as Mrs. Carleton Parker has said: "The nation as a whole would suffer no great psychological repression if every one had to use all 21-inch sewer pipes instead of some 22-inch pipes, but I don't want all ladies wearing the same hats."

There is less trade secrecy and more exchange of technical information than there used to be. There is a far greater readiness to scrap obsolete plants and machinery. There is more hand-to-mouth buying, resulting in smaller inventories and less speculation and loss. Henry Ford turns raw coal and iron into finished motor cars in 24 hours, and thus avoids sinking his capital into great stocks of inventories. His example is being extensively imitated. There is more pre-planning, budgeting, cost control, in industry.

Finally, in the words of Dr. Tugwell: "We have developed a fairly definite idea that an employer's business is to eliminate work." The conception of the

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employer as a philanthropist who provides work for an otherwise helpless population is rapidly going out of fashion in America. It is a welcome shift in style.

So much for tangible performance. American industry, with or without the assistance of American business as the case may be, has in the past few years increased production, increased the real wages of the wayfaring man, reduced the hours of labor, made inroads on the blight of child labor, adjusted for the better the position of women in industry, improved working conditions in the shop, and introduced an energetic campaign against industrial waste and loss.

We have now to record a somewhat different group of phenomena which might be called potential gains. The group is made up of certain theories which the world of business and industry is just beginning to experiment with, and which have not as yet been through the fire of experience. Whether they will add to human welfare we do not know, but in theory they have much to recommend them.

The first item is rather more than a theory. The Federal Reserve System as a part of the law of the land is in actual operation. But it has not been in operation long enough to tell whether it is sufficiently powerful to break the downward swing of the business cycle, and so banish severe depressions with their

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ghastly aftermath of human misery. The theory of the Federal Reserve System is that its member banks, by arbitrarily moving the rediscount rate for commercial loans up or down, can throw credit to the financial structure when a depression threatens or discourage over-expansion when a boom is in the wind. Thus instead of violent fluctuations, we shall have only moderate fluctuations, and the dizzy psychological rush downhill as credit tightens and freezes will be forever stopped. Will it? Nobody really knows. But we can say with assurance two things. First, that the Federal Reserve System has a good fighting chance of checking business panics; and second, that it is a very important move in the direction of trying to make business conform to the underlying realities of industry. It is an attempt to force a certain amount of national coördination into the anarchy of business. It is a warning to the speculator and the profiteer that the needs of industry come first.

There is a new phrase abroad: "The economy of high wages." Ford probably invented it. He was the first man to practice it. A handful of manufacturers are following him in practicing it because they honestly believe this strange—to a Victorian, almost blasphemous—theory. A great many more manufacturers are talking about it, half believe it, but on a pinch they

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could safely be counted upon to take to cover like frightened rabbits. The theory is simple and logical. Messrs. Foster and Catchings will give you the fullest of details. Why do we have depressions; why is industry perpetually on half time; why do we not secure the full benefit of the machine technique? Because not enough purchasing power is released in the form of wages to buy back the goods which the machines are capable of producing. Therefore build up purchasing power; keep wages high, and move them higher with every increase in productive efficiency. This will provide the buying power to stimulate sales, keep turnover at a maximum, lower overhead costs, maintain good margins of profit, and so force the whole industrial structure to function steadily and efficiently.

The theory is significant in that it makes the individual business man see over the top of his own payroll. It makes him think in terms of all industry, ay, in terms of social welfare, as well as in the time-honored terms of his profit and loss account. It gives him a shove toward coöperation and a sense of state; lifts him out of his own back yard—and if widely believed and acted upon would do more than any other one thing to break the strangle hold of business upon industry and liberate the machine for the productive use of man. But two centuries of believing that the lower

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the wages the higher the profits for *me* are not to be overturned by a little puff of three or four years of prosperity. The economy of high wages is mostly talk. Talk is cheap, particularly when profits are holding up well. Let a real depression set in, and with the lamentable collapse of the Federal Reserve System as a hoped-for deterrent would go an even more lamentable collapse of the high wages theory. Payroll rates would be slashed as prices fell, and unions which tried to maintain the old scale would be caught as of yore—red-handed with orders from Moscow.

Finally, we have to chronicle an even more vague and hypothetical phenomenon, but one, if it can ultimately be substantiated, of the first importance. Mr. J. M. Keynes, the noted British economist, traced its first faint outlines. "One of the most interesting and unnoticed developments of recent decades has been the tendency of big enterprise to socialize itself. A point arrives in the growth of a big institution—particularly a big railway or public utility enterprise—at which the owners of the capital, the shareholders, are almost entirely dissociated from the management, with the result that the direct personal interest of the latter in the making of great profit becomes quite secondary. When this stage is reached, the general stability and reputation of the institution are more considered by the

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management than the maximum of profit for the shareholders. The shareholders must be satisfied by conventionally adequate dividends; but once this is secured, the direct interest of the management often consists in avoiding criticism from the public and from the customers of the concern. This is particularly the case if their great size or semi-monopolistic position renders them conspicuous in the public eye and vulnerable to public attack.”²

These words may be prophetic. The drift in America is toward greater and greater combinations, in which the stockholder has increasingly less interest and less control. The old captain of industry, the entrepreneur, running his own business in his own way, is a dying hero. And with his expiring gasps the whole system of *laissez-faire*, of individual initiative, begins to crumble. With the keystone gone, how shall the arch stand up? Without the individual drive for profits, with the bulk of industry in the hands of salaried managers who have no direct interest in profits . . . we have a fleeting picture of a series of gigantic trusts no longer devoted to rapaciousness, no longer daring to be whole-heartedly rapacious—as Harriman, Gould, and Armour were rapacious. Bigger, yet weaker vessels, ripe for public regulation—perhaps even for pub-

² *Laissez-Faire and Communism*. J. M. Keynes, p. 61.

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lic ownership . . . great public trusts—not so very different in function from the semi-independent government trusts which operate Russian industry today.

The picture fades. Before the retina come swarming Messrs. Reed and Dillon, Mr. Harry Sinclair, the higher jiu-jitsu of the power crowd—a hundred figures to declare in stalwart terms that rapaciousness will never die, that the lofty principles of economic tooth and claw remain forever pure and undefiled. The picture fades and flickers out, but in the middle of the night, as one lies thinking, it has a habit of coming into focus again. With Mr. Hoover in tears, with Mr. Ivy Lee completely prostrated, with every Chamber of Commerce in the land draped in black, industry might just take that turn . . . just possibly might. And that would be a gain indeed!

Every element of gain, actual or potential, in industry and business which has been mentioned above, save the last, is largely dependent upon the business cycle for its maintenance. In prosperous years, the psychology of improvement, of tolerance, of generosity is given free play. In years of depression, I can only believe these forward steps would summarily be liquidated—all but the picture which Mr. Keynes has painted, if it be a picture at all. These gains hang poised on the brink of the curve of depression. Another

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1907, and they would be dashed to pieces on the rocks below.

But the honest student, no matter how radical, must admit that these gains are provable facts today, even as the honest student, however conservative, must admit the precarious nature of their status. There is as yet no organized movement, whether of labor, of the consumer, or of the common citizen, strong enough to hold the outposts which industry, in its few years of prosperity, has almost gratuitously flung forth.

3. RECENT GAINS IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

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3. RECENT GAINS IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

by MARY VAN KLEECK

WHAT is a "gain" in industrial relations? The question is written in Paris, in the midst of the International Conference of Social Work; one of its five sections is devoted to the subject of social work and industry from the points of view of 31 countries. One week ago, in Cambridge, England, on July 2, 1928, the International Industrial Relations Association concluded its five days' congress on Fundamental Human Relationships in Industry, and representatives of 20 nations agreed to define the purpose of the Association as "the study and promotion of satisfactory human relations and conditions in industry." In proposing the definition, one of the vice-presidents, Miss M. L. Fleddérus, of Holland, thus explained it: "Who, so people asked, would take it upon himself to define what was 'satisfactory'? In my opinion the exact point is that 'whatsoever is satisfactory shows itself as such.' There will be no need for you and me to proclaim it as such; satisfactory human relations and conditions are so by virtue of their own harmonious inter-relation." In this international association the question, What is a gain in industrial relations in

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American civilization? becomes this: What instances can the United States show of that harmonious interrelation between human beings in industry which is the sign of satisfactory conditions?

The very acceptance of such a test involves, however, a merging of separate and opposing interests and the taking of a new position which shall be a synthesis of the diverse points of view of different groups in industry. So long as employers, employed and consumers each concern themselves only with their own gains from industry, no agreement on what is a gain is possible.

“Bankers see good in unemployment,” said the headlines in the *New York Times* in the spring of 1928; “predict readjustment of high wages and rents and also of ways of living; labor to return to farm”; and in the text of the statement which was issued by a banking firm in a southern city these conclusions were drawn: “The shadow of unemployment will reduce rent, restore labor to sanity, cut the cost of living, rectify the evils of installment selling, encourage thrift. . . . Gross earnings cannot expand indefinitely. Net must in the future be acquired through the reduction of overhead. Labor must become less obdurate and the farm must again absorb the surplus unemployed labor of the cities. . . . The day of the white heat of industry is

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past. The economics of commerce demand a rectification and an accounting. Unemployment is thus the natural result." To these bankers, gains in industrial relations would be found in increasing docility on the part of labor, lowered wages and thrift to make them possible, so that overhead expenses in industry might be reduced and net earnings increased. Possibly advances during that period in the prices of stocks on the stock exchange may have been one of the elements pressing for an increase in net earnings to make possible higher dividends to capital.

From the point of view of labor, these gains desired by the financiers would be losses. Labor could see no good in unemployment. For the wage-earner involuntary idleness is always a personal misfortune, and for the labor unions unemployment means loss of power in the conflict over the returns of industry which is ever implicit in industrial relations; labor out of work is labor defeated in that contest temporarily, at least, for the man out of work is getting no share in the industrial product. Labor out of work cannot demand higher wages or shorter hours. To wage-earners gains in industrial relations are found in increased income from wages, elimination of unemployment and a chance to bargain successfully through a trade union for the retention and the improvement of these conditions.

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Retail merchants and producers of consumers' goods constitute another group who would not agree with these bankers. There has been much discussion lately about the difficulties of "Business without a Buyer." Those who have goods to sell do not profit by unemployment. They want wide markets and they begin to see that markets are to be extended by increasing the capacity of labor to buy. In the same refrain, two engineers from the troubled British Isles in the recent piping times of good business in the United States reported back home that the secret of prosperity here lay in the buying power of wage-earners through high wages, which has created a large home market. To these merchants and servers of the ultimate consumer at home and to the foreigners asking how it is done, gains in industrial relations would be found in the extension of the market through high and steady wages, with no unemployment.

In short, not all would agree as to the desirability of unemployment. Nor would the advocates of unemployment always desire it, but only for purposes of "readjustment," involving a change in the relative power of labor to keep up the wage scales. The same differences of point of view could be demonstrated in discussions of other phases of industrial relations.

Shall we then set up a definition of "gains" from

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some one point of view and select recent events which meet the definition, ignoring those who disagree and recognizing that the definition of today may not satisfy even ourselves tomorrow? Or shall we accept as a starting point the relativity of industrial relations? We would then rule out static measures of general conclusions—the average wage, the length of the working day, or even the extent of employment or unemployment. We would expect to discover gains in shifting relationships which would be tested in their results. We would find the possibilities of progress in the attitudes of mind and the procedures which create modes of conduct. We would test the modes of conduct by their adaptability to the rational adjustment of conflicting interests, and by their function in working toward a goal acceptable to all the groups involved in a particular industrial activity. We would set down as a gain real procedures and actual conduct which have adjusted conflicts, answered problems and achieved defined results in economic activity and in human satisfaction.

Somewhat more than a year ago, Robert W. Bruère, writing on "Where Violence has Not Occurred" in a series on Industrial Conflict in *The World Tomorrow* (March, 1927), said that "industrial relations, if they are to be at once dynamic and secure against violence,

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must be evolved out of the requirements of the production process—the focus of the common interest of managers, workers, and the consuming public.” The significance of that phrase, “requirements of the production process,” is being discovered by Mr. Bruère in continuing studies of various shops. It is not yet clear, but remains to be more closely defined by experiments in real shops, in real industries and in real communities. In directing attention to “the requirements of the production process as the focus of the common interest of managers, workers, and the consuming public,” Mr. Bruère has given us illumination on where to look for gains in industrial relations.

In situations where managers, workers and the consuming public are actually finding a common interest in the production process, we need to probe deeper and discover what change has occurred in the relationship of wage-earners to management to make possible the acceptance of a common interest in place of the conflicts which are as yet the more usual in industry. The mere absence of conflict is not necessarily a gain. It may mean that the group which would keep things as they are is stronger than the group which would change them. The gain is to be found rather in the establishment of a new functional relationship of labor to managerial policy, whereby separate and limited aims, such

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as the forcing of a wage reduction by management, or the attainment of an increase in rates by labor, are merged in a larger purpose, such as to make goods well with satisfaction for labor in work and wages, with effective service at the lowest possible price to the public and with a fair return for capital. Circumstances and details would differ in different industries and in different countries and in different social and economic orders, but the basic principle of having a sound and inclusive objective and establishing relationships which make it possible for labor and managers to accomplish the objective is probably universally applicable as a test of the human aspects of an economic activity.

In accepting this definition for the purposes of this article we omit many interesting developments in the labor movement on the one hand and in the policies and practices of business on the other. Labor banks, co-operative enterprises and adventures in housing might all be classed as gains, yielding more insight for labor into economic processes and increasing power through definite control of such institutions in the interest of the trade unions participating in them. Management on the other hand is developing new skill and understanding in human relations through personnel procedure, training and selection of employees and intelligent changes in working conditions to enable the work-

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man to do his work better. These developments, quite familiar to every one by this time, are ignored in this article, which is focused rather upon incidents involving some change in the functional relationship of wage-earners to management. The incidents, moreover, are not necessarily important in themselves. Rather are they illustrations of a possible answer to the question, What is a gain in industrial relations, as an American might present it to men and women in other lands?

I

Labor in Passaic, New Jersey, carpenters and joiners, plumbers and steamfitters, electrical workers, painters and textile workers, came together in the winter of 1927 for a week-end conference to discuss unemployment, under the auspices of the Passaic Trades and Labor Council, the Building Trades Council and the Workers' Education Bureau of America. Passaic was a troubled place. Memories of past strikes, wage cuts, lockouts, clashes with police and arrests of "agitators" had embittered everybody having any relation to its industrial activities. Long months of unemployment had made great suffering not only for the textile workers but for the small shopkeepers and for all the other trades. Yet Passaic had skilled employees and a tradition of early craftsmanship brought to this

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country by a group of Germans, including managers and owners of mills and their expert workmen. How did the industry lose the possibilities of the coöperative spirit which grows out of utilizing and recognizing skilled craftsmanship? How did the mills depart so far from the "focus of common interest" which might have united managers, workers and the consuming public through the skill of the workers and managers in meeting "the requirements of the production process"? How this came about would be an interesting historical study.

The more immediate question, however, was whether the week-end conference called by the workers could be translated into a new approach to the problem in the mills. All groups in the city came together in the conference, hesitatingly at first, fearing, as one of the managers expressed it, that there would be only "talk" and that "town meetings do not solve industrial problems." But finally personnel officers and consulting engineers of the more important mills, the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and the mayor joined with representatives of the labor unions and with students of industrial problems in discussing the problem of unemployment in Passaic, as it was seen by labor, by industry, by government and by the local community.

As the first result, Passaic began the process of or-

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ganizing a Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed by the mayor and composed of representatives of labor, employers and the public. The Commission was to study labor on the one side and the businesses of Passaic on the other, to the end that the business of the community might be made more secure. Because the Chamber of Commerce had learned that the prosperity of the town depends in large part upon the goodwill and coöperation of labor, the Passaic Trades and Labor Council was asked to name a representative upon that committee of the Chamber which was seeking to attract new industries to the town. Plans were made to engage investigators to work under the joint auspices of the Commission and to study Passaic's common industrial problems.

The results of the conference were not limited to action within the community, however. The president of the United Textile Workers of America (the trade union of the textile industry affiliated with the American Federation of Labor) proposed "to the textile industry of the city of Passaic and through them to the entire textile industry in America, that a joint research committee be appointed on which both management and labor are equally represented" and that such a joint committee, through specific agreement, should employ research assistance "to ascertain the facts and

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devise methods for the security of employment and the stabilization of industry and for the study of such other matters as arise out of the consideration of this great problem." As evidence of good faith, he pledged \$1,000 as the initial contribution of the union to such a study.

Whether such a joint committee would be formed, remained still to be seen, six months after the conference. The assets available for joint research might tempt at least a trial. These were (1) the expressed desire of labor to coöperate not only in a study but in the new policies and procedures which might be suggested by the study; (2) the formation of agencies within the industry, such as the Woolen Institute, which looked upon research as one of their functions; (3) the possibility of assistance by governmental bureaus having data on textiles; and (4) the possible coöperation of impartial agencies devoted to social research in the public interest, all of which might have a legitimate part to play in attacking a problem affecting the whole nation and reaching beyond national boundaries. To have such a study made under the joint auspices of labor and employers would go far toward insuring that action would be taken upon the data gathered. In short, this proposal for research was a proposal to gather facts in such a way as to influence conduct, and thus it

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was a step in the possible functional change in the relationship of labor and employers in the textile industry.

The holding of the conference, the methods developed and the actual participation of diverse groups in themselves are events which may be counted as gains. The proposals for what may follow are only potential gains. Will they be made actual? Possibly not now, though the outlook is hopeful; but it is an idea, and its day must come. Culminating in it is the long struggle of the labor movement through strikes and suffering. If coöperation becomes possible, it must not be forgotten that behind it is conflict which has been necessary to compel attention to human needs. Indeed it has also been necessary as a means of stimulating management itself to study the causes of the instability of industry. Moreover, labor through workers' education is finding a way to study its problems. Such study is leading to labor's demand for greater skill on the part of management.

II

How scientific management can contribute to the ends which labor in Passaic has sought—security of employment with fair wages—is demonstrated in a textile business in the North and the South. A New England manufacturer with a keen interest and tech-

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nical skill in scientific management found himself with an insolvent shoddy mill on his hands some twenty-five years ago. He was responsible for trying to save the stockholders' interests. In his printing business he had set up the procedures of scientific management and won the coöperation of the organized craft unions in these policies and practices. He conceived the idea of developing a cotton manufacturing business by the introduction of scientific management into sales, production and finance, despite the fact that he faced in the textile industry a business tenacious of its habits and without radical change for the previous fifty years. Today he has five cotton mills in the South and two plants for finishing and marketing in New England, and the business as a whole is prosperous and has expanded during the past five years of severe depression elsewhere in the same industry.

How? The man responsible for this development summed it up in these words for the Third International Management Congress, held in Rome, Italy, last September: "This prosperity has not been achieved through a lowering of manufacturing costs by depressing labor below proper standards of living; it has been achieved by paying wages above the market and securing economies through waste-eliminating methods of management. The management believes that good wages and low costs are not incompatible, and it has

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maintained a corresponding policy. The management believes also that with increasing opportunity in industry there is increasing responsibility. While not unmindful of the importance of the stability that is coupled with material success, their interest is quite as much in producing better citizens as in securing profits." In the absence of craft organizations in textiles, there are no trade union agreements as in other businesses of the same management, but citizenship and self-government has been the policy in the development of the mill villages. Underlying these policies of industrial relations are the principles of scientific management which have been here applied: "(1) Continuing research, investigation and experiment as the basis for every determination of policy and procedure in management; (2) the establishment of standards of policy and procedure—best known ways subject to evolution as better known ways are discovered—revealed by the investigations and experiments; and (3) a system of planning and control of operations in terms of standards as established."

At the same International Management Congress in Rome in 1927 a paper was presented on "Master Planks in the American Industrial Program." These have grown out of the experience of the same management engineers who have been applying to the indus-

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tries in this country the principles just enumerated as underlying the creation of a successful textile business in the midst of depression in the industry. The master planks were these, defined as the aims of scientific management in the United States: "(1) To raise living standards still higher by increasing the real income of all engaged in industry through progressive improvements and the cheapening of industrial processes; (2) to raise the high level of American wages still higher, with increases in output per worker; (3) to inspire both managers and workers to collaborate in order to improve the technique of production and distribution; (4) to keep men and machinery fully occupied."

Nor are we lacking in an agency concerned in putting these ideas into effect. The Taylor Society, "an international society to promote the science and the art of administration and of management," with offices in New York, is the organization which made possible the presentation of these two experiences just cited to European engineers; and its members in the United States are at work applying these principles and procedures to the problems of American workshops.

III

A factory manufacturing men's clothing in Chicago has run the gamut in some twenty years from a shop

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controlled by a boss contractor in the old days of exploitation of the clothing workers by the contractor who made his profits by forcing down wages; through a bitter strike in which thousands of wage-earners suffered and the community's sympathies and antagonisms were alike aroused; through gradually evolving machinery of human relationships with new agencies of day-to-day adjustment of difficulties and joint participation in these agencies by employers and wage-earners; through the application of all of these ideas and procedures to other plants in Chicago and to the clothing markets in other cities; and finally the latest development, in the virtual responsibility for three-fourths of the production work of the shop by the union itself. The boss of twenty years ago, working only in his own interest and exploiting one by one the workers who sought employment, has given place to a self-directing union which has shown itself capable of managing production. Except for one abnormal year in the war period, the past year under this experiment has been the most successful in the history of the company, with both the wages of labor and the profits of the employer higher than ever before. Here is a clear-cut instance of a change in the functional relation of a trade union to the processes of production.

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IV

Following a bitter strike in the repair shops of the railroads, the unions involved and the president of one important company agreed to abandon conflict over wage rates and restriction of output and to work for the common end of eliminating waste, making employment secure and insuring adequate wages and reasonable profits. To this end they set up a plan based on a definite agreement, to which the union representing the workers was a party. To fulfill its responsibilities, the union secured its own expert service in the work of an engineer; and through the four or five years since the plan went into effect, energy which once went into wasteful disputes has been expended in efforts to produce more satisfactorily. Once again is borne out the idea that in a given situation in a real shop it is possible to find in production, with the skill which labor can contribute and the science which management can bring to bear, a focus of common interest for managers, workers and consumers. Every practical demonstration of the procedures through which such an idea is expressed is a gain by the definition here given.

No one of these situations can be called permanent. In a sense, they are incidents. They are gains in in-

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dustrial relations because they represent procedures and modes of conduct shown to be more or less successful in attaining a common end; the end is to bring together into working relationships the human beings who must participate in the production of goods and services in economic life.

If there be generalizations to be gathered out of these incidents, they are these: (1) Scientific management has actually developed principles and procedures which would modify conduct and give constructive outlet for energies and skills by giving each its place in the functional organization of business. (2) Social research is developing methods and procedures which make it possible to study the problems of human relations with the objectivity of the scientific spirit and to give a basis for adjustment of conflicting interests. (3) The trade unions are taking cognizance of the importance of the science of management and are seeking to utilize the methods of social research. They are discovering the good results of coöperation in production. Thus they are meeting managers of industry halfway in their efforts to apply science to business. (4) International organizations are beginning to develop for joint study and conference which may eliminate artificial national boundaries in approaching worldwide problems of industrial relations. Organizations

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which now offer these opportunities are the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, with its research, its conferences and its setting up of formulas in recommended labor legislation after agreement by representatives of employers, labor and the government in all the member countries; the International Congress of Scientific Management, which brings together for conference those interested in the application of scientific management throughout the world; and the International Industrial Relations Association (for the study and promotion of satisfactory human relations and conditions in industry), which includes in its membership representatives of labor and employers, personnel and welfare workers, engineers and social investigators, and which through congresses and summer schools seeks as a group representing different groups in industry to think together and to become conscious of the fundamentals of their relationships.

It is this International Industrial Relations Association which is giving a human objective to the scientific approach to industry and bringing to bear upon it the ideas of many nations. "Science in itself can never ameliorate man's condition or add to life's happiness," wrote one of its officers in the introduction to the report of a summer school on elimination of unnecessary fatigue in industry, held in Italy in June,

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1927. "With all the knowledge available, we may still find man and production confronting each other with interests opposed, unless the desire for gain be replaced by one for service and for that harmonious coöperation which is the hallmark of human progress." That men and women from 26 different countries of the world should be united in an association with such a conception is in itself a gain in industrial relations. In claiming it for ourselves in American civilization, we do but recognize our need of the thought and vision of other countries. Out of the wisdom of Europe and the Orient may come for us a clearer vision of the human task of world-wide significance set before these United States by an industrial and economic development which stands in need of searching criticism by the social philosophers of all countries.

4. ADVANCES IN THE QUEST FOR PEACE

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4. ADVANCES IN THE QUEST FOR PEACE

by NORMAN THOMAS

IT is recorded in the Scriptures that Balak, King of the Moabites, was sore distressed because Balaam, a rather expensive imported prophet whom he had hired to curse the children of Israel, was constrained to bless them. I am no prophet, but like Balaam I fear truth may compel me to disappoint my friend, the editor, and somewhat invert Balaam's conduct in that I may curse while he has begged me to find reason to bless.

To begin with there is always the rather sorry and shabby consolation that things might have been worse. We are not at war with Mexico. We are not attempting the impossible task of setting China right by force of arms. The failure of the Geneva Conference on Naval Armament has not been followed by a popular demand for a great naval race. There were times when all these dangers seemed imminent even to men most reluctant to imagine evil. That we escaped them is perhaps as much due to good fortune and public opinion as to any common sense of our government. But escape them we did. For which let us be thankful even while we deplore the less satisfactory turn of events in Nicaragua.

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Whatever Walter Lippmann may think about public opinion there is something of a public opinion on issues of peace and war in the United States. It has on the whole been exerted, though not always intelligently and consistently, for the maintenance of peace. And we may well begin our inquiry on gains in the quest for peace in the field of public opinion.

They may be summed up in a word: we are learning to substitute realism for romanticism in facing the problem of war and peace. To say that along this line the American people is making headway is not to affirm that a balance as between gains and losses would be favorable. It may well be that the final result must be written in the red on the debit side of our national account with the unknown future. Still less is it to affirm that such gains as we have made are adequate. It is quite possible by choosing our facts to show that we have made some progress since, let us say, 1900. But in this case as in others when we engage in high debate whether we are better or worse than our fathers, it must be remembered that we can answer the question by no single reference to a conveniently fixed point in the past. For instance, the American worker may enjoy modern plumbing which was denied the brilliant lords and ladies of Queen Elizabeth's court. That does not mean that he will necessarily feel as well off as Sir

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Walter Raleigh. We may have made distinct gains in understanding certain phases of the peace problem since 1900 and yet the menace to peace may be as great or greater than it was at the earlier date because the stream of events has rushed forward in a more tumultuous torrent. To use a somewhat crude simile: the decided progress that a group of men may make in learning to handle gun powder will not necessarily be of much avail if they are suddenly called upon to handle not gun powder but T. N. T. The present situation as it affects world peace economically, racially and politically is more obviously complex than at the end of the nineteenth century. War has acquired new and infinitely greater terrors. The problem for the peace lover is not merely to prove that he has made progress since the beginning of the new century but to prove that he has made sufficient progress to be able to deal with the new set of facts that confronts him.

Let me say honestly for the good of my soul that from this point of view I am not an optimist about the outlook for peace. I am fearful for the rôle my country may play as the greatest empire in the world. Such favorable circumstances as I think I find in the situation warrant no easy confidence that we ourselves or our children shall not know the horrors of a war in comparison to which that struggle which we now call

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the World War may seem like a skirmish. They merely warrant a conviction that the struggle for peace is not hopeless and that we may perchance escape the dreadful necessity of apologizing to our children that we have brought them into this world only to rear them as choice sacrifices to the Moloch of war, tragic victims of their parents' imperfect loyalties and their mighty stupidities, greeds, prejudices, fears and hates.

When we come to examine that growth in realism which is the encouraging gain in our approach to the problem of peace our inquiry falls into several divisions. The first concerns the growth of realism in an understanding of war itself. Our minstrels no longer sing of arms and the hero. Men do not write of the World War in the spirit of Scott's novels or the "When Knighthood Was in Flower" school of literature so popular at the turn of the century. This is true even if against it one must set a very recent revival of interest in diaries and reminiscences of the World War. I shall not speak of a Stallings, a Dos Passos or a Hemingway to substantiate this claim. A novelist of a somewhat more conventional type dealing not with the World War but with those older conflicts already touched with romance in the American imagination has given a far more realistic picture of what those struggles meant than did novelists of an older day.

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James Boyd, in "Drums" and still more in "Marching On" describes the Revolution and the Civil War in terms of the experience not of fortunate adventurers or incredible supermen but of the common man, loyal, brave, bewildered, hungry, thirsty, often fatigued to a point where death would be release. Perhaps if our boys have enough of this sort of literature they will be slower to answer by some primitive impulse to the beat of the drum. Indeed I had hardly written this paragraph when my eye fell upon the schoolboy bits of realism in dealing with war published in the magazine of a school that is proud of the number of its graduates who served in France. At least these boys are aware what war is. So, too, are their older brothers and sisters in the colleges. They—or at least that minority of them that bother to think at all on social problems—are far more alert and wholesomely skeptical of militarism, nationalism and imperialism than the students of twenty years ago.

It is not merely on this point that our generation and our children have a clear idea of what war means. Besides knowing something of the "boredom of the trenches punctuated by the brutality of battle and the bayonet charge," they know something of the artificial character of that propaganda by which the martial spirit is maintained. They know that wars are not

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fought in a pure passion for some clearly seen ideal but rather in a wild emotional orgy in which the main ingredients are fear and hate. It is not likely that our clear-sighted younger generation will listen with acquiescence or approval while they are told that it is possible to kill men in love or drive them by the bayonet to any sort of paradise.

Shortly after the return of our troops I received a remarkable letter from one of them who had read something I had written in *The World Tomorrow*. He told briefly but vividly in terms almost worthy of Barbusse what the war had actually meant to him and to his comrades. Then he described their welcome home, the speeches they had listened to, and the well-grounded fear he had that all their bitter and truthful personal memories would be crowded out by that curious and inaccurate social memory, that war myth, which politicians, preachers and speakers—mostly stay-at-homes themselves—insisted on creating for the soldiers. I have not heard from that man save for the one letter. I should like to think that even in the activities of the American Legion he had discovered some stubborn resistance to the growth of this romantic idealization of the nature of war. In my own experience I have been amazed to discover how readily all sorts of audiences accept as a matter of course a vivid description of what

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war is and a more vivid forecast of what, thanks to modern science, it is likely to become. That Scandinavian scientist, Nobel, inventor of dynamite and founder of the peace prize, was mistaken in thinking that sheer terror at the horror of modern scientific warfare would be a guarantee of peace. Nevertheless, to strip war of its trappings of glory, to describe it as now it can be told, is an immense gain to believers in the possibility of world peace. Meanwhile it is well worth saying that even in our mechanized world such new fields as aviation offer to adventurous youth at least as much fascination and appeal as does that terrible treadmill of collective homicide which we call war.

A second and closely related discovery about war which has been made by our generation is its futility to achieve the end it nominally seeks. The thousands of men and women who accepted President Wilson's war aims at their face value were, if they remained capable of thought at all, compelled by the results of the struggle to admit either that these aims were not themselves valid or that war was a self-defeating means of obtaining them. Perhaps the soundest conclusion was that insofar as there were ideal aims in the war they were largely defeated by the method chosen to enforce them. The war to end war left behind it innumerable seeds of further conflict planted in the lush soil of

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men's smoldering desires for revenge. The war to make the world safe for democracy was followed by the widespread swing away from the whole ideal of democracy. Once the passions of war were unloosed it was seen that all sorts of incalculable consequences might be expected. No governments can propagate hate and fear and then turn them off as you turn off water running at the tap. No politicians, editors and preachers can deliberately stir up the masses to a drunken orgy of the emotions and then bid them instantly return to sanity. Such is the power of man to create his own defense mechanism that probably a way will be found to sanctify the next war if and when it comes and to provide it with aims worthy of Christian soldiers. Nevertheless the process of thus bathing the grim and sordid realities of war in the light that never was on land or sea unquestionably will be harder so long as memory and the printed word keep alive the story of the decade which followed America's entrance into the struggle to bring about those ideal purposes which Woodrow Wilson so eloquently described on April 6, 1917.

Fortunately it is not only the idealists who are defeated in war but also those hard-faced men who boast that they deal with realities. Little wars sometimes pay or seem to pay but there is no halfway responsible statesman today who will not agree with Norman

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Angell that the hope of conspicuous national gain out of war is the great illusion. The other day the British Field Marshal, Sir William Robertson, called war not only "a pure horror" but also, what may be more important, "a fool's game." Look at the record and see how precarious are the fruits of victory. Russia was defeated and got Lenin and perhaps the most significant social experiment in history. Italy was nominally victorious and got Mussolini and an extraordinary twentieth century model of despotism. England was victorious. She destroyed the navy of her chief rival and almost destroyed her merchant marine only to find that she had struck a terrible blow at her own prosperity. France was victorious but victory brought little relief from her nervous apprehensions for the future. No wonder that responsible statesmen and leaders in the world of economic affairs as well as of politics feel obliged to protest that they do not want war. Mr. Thomas W. Lamont's recent speech about the peaceful aims of bankers which was ponderously applauded by our leading editorial writers was substantially true. What he overlooked was the fact that these same bankers do want an imperialistic policy which logically leads to war. For example, the loan he recommended to Japanese railroad interests in Manchuria, had it been made, might have been far more potent as a cause for war

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than his verbal protestations of love of peace. It does not follow that the latter are insincere or that this new consciousness in the financial world of the folly and danger of war from the standpoint of material interests is not a potent factor for preserving peace. It is certainly encouraging that most labor unions officially recognize that not only war but also imperialism is no boon to the working class. This official recognition needs to grow in intensity of feeling and intelligence of planning against war and imperialism before it will be the effective bulwark of peace that we desire. Its existence is a heartening fact.

In this discussion we have already indicated a point which is now desirable to stress as our third division in the understanding of war and its problems. Even here in America we are becoming more realistic as to the causes of war. No myth of consequence has ever been as thoroughly and as rapidly exploded as the myth of the sole guilt of Germany in the last war. No one who does not feel that he is caught on dress parade longer professes faith in the beautiful fairy story of the pure and virtuous Allied St. George against the wicked German dragon. It has been refuted by the secret treaties and documents from the archives in Moscow, Berlin, Vienna and London. It has been refuted by the unguarded admissions of the principal actors in the tragedy. It is

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worthy of note that Senator Harding, later elected president of the United States by some 7,000,000 plurality, said in so many words that we fought Germany in defense of our national rights and not "to purge the old world of the accumulated ills of rivalry and greed." This comes perilously near an admission of the truth that we fought Germany at the moment when our national interests, owing to our very partial interpretation of neutrality, had become bound up with the interests of the Allies.

Says Professor Beard in commenting on this realistic development of American public opinion: "Though cautious editors long ignored the researches of scholars, though aged clubmen and embattled women continued to fight the war along canonical lines, the task of keeping alive the old reverie was far beyond their power." Even against the socialists in recent years the politicians have not thought it worth while to fight the war over again. In many years of strenuous campaigns I have scarcely heard any heckler or opposing speaker dwell with any particular emphasis upon my own well-known opposition to the World War. It is always dangerous to generalize from an individual experience but in this case I cannot but feel that my experience has significance.

So far we have been discussing the causes of the

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World War and the growth of public opinion in regard to them. I sometimes think that a certain hardness of the American temper and our long-continued bitterness toward conscientious objectors and political prisoners was due not to the sense of triumph of a victorious people but to the smoldering resentment of a country most of whose citizens consciously or subconsciously felt that they had been fooled into a crusade with results far other than they had been promised. The really significant question, however, is whether this conviction that the causes of the World War were other than they seemed can be carried over into an examination of the causes of war in general. Here also I am inclined to think that there is ground for hope. The American people are, alas, drifting down the stream of empire. Nevertheless their dangerous old innocence which to foreigners looked like pure hypocrisy is going.

Some four or five years ago I thought and said that if the British acquired their empire "in a fit of absent-mindedness" the Americans were extending theirs while resolutely denying that there was such a thing or ever would be. That, I think, is no longer so. As I read the newspapers and periodicals, meet individuals, and address audiences, I am persuaded that increasingly Americans are learning to look for the petroleum behind the piety, the sugar behind the sanctity, the rub-

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ber plantations or investment opportunities behind the manifest destiny which pushes American economic penetration into all quarters of the globe and sends out the marines to protect the adventurous dollar of the stay-at-home investor. There is always the danger that this realistic knowledge may simply result in cynicism or perhaps in open profession of imperial aims. It has, however, already proved immensely useful in keeping the American people from rushing to fight the battles of such eminent patriots as Messrs. Doheny, Sinclair and Hearst against the workers and peons of Mexico. It is, moreover, giving a powerful stimulus to a study of problems of foreign relations that once seemed almost nonexistent, especially to the people of our inland plains.

Here we are helped by a far greater and more reliable body of news about foreign relations in the best of our daily press and in a number of periodicals than we had before the Great War. This is, of course, a natural consequence of our position as a great creditor nation. Nevertheless it is of value in an understanding of what is happening in the world that we should have not only liberal weeklies like *The Nation* and *The New Republic*, a monthly like *The World Tomorrow* or, let us say, like *Current History*, but also publications like the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's*, the *Forum* and

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others which by occasional articles shed the light of honest discussion upon those events which make for war or peace. Such impartial and timely information as the Foreign Policy Association furnishes in its printed services is also a definite asset to that knowledge of foreign relations that makes possible an intelligent pursuit of peace.

Finally I am convinced that even peace advocates are learning greater realism. To be a peace advocate is no longer as pleasant as it was in the halcyon days when people generally disbelieved in the likelihood of war, or at any rate of a war big enough to involve the United States. To the syrup of good intentions peace advocates today must add the iron of a reasoned will to pay the price of ending war or their efforts will come to nothing. Most people still want peace more intelligently than in earlier days. Yet to want it as earnestly and creatively as Jane Addams, invites from our professional patriots an abuse that no one showers upon the efforts of William Randolph Hearst (newspaper proprietor and absentee landlord of a vast Mexican domain) to stir up trouble between the United States and Mexico by the use of forged documents. That is one of the many paradoxes of the present situation. Yet this very fact helps to impose on true peace advocates a definiteness of purpose and plan that the older

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orthodox peace societies even before the war had begun to lack. The one unforgivable sin in the quest for peace is such innocuous and ineffective propriety as characterizes the poor old American Peace Society. To wrangle about the road to peace may weaken us sadly in the face of the common enemy but it at least implies life and energy.

Even church declarations show the fortunate influence of this new realism and earnestness. Some of my friends have hopefully sought to impress this fact upon my mind. I acknowledge it. The official Methodist declaration, for instance, may logically be used in another war by Methodist conscientious objectors to prove that they like the Quakers belong to "a sect whose creed or principles are opposed to war." Somehow I doubt if they will get much support from their own bishops on that claim and I know that formal resolutions against war and compulsory military training in schools and colleges made by church bodies, like similar resolutions from some labor organizations, do not mean much by way of action. The churches have not learned to fight war as once they fought the saloon. Nevertheless there is within organized religion a larger and more determined minority of resolute pacifists than in pre-war days and I hope that we may look to the churches to act as a far more effective brake on the chariot of Mars

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than in the days of the Spanish War or even in that greater struggle when President Wilson so successfully won the clergy to support his eloquent gospel of salvation by battle. It is a vivid memory of my boyhood that one of the finest men I ever knew unhesitatingly preached from his pulpit a resounding sermon in complete support of President Cleveland's needlessly bellicose threat to Great Britain over the Venezuela boundary dispute. It is improbable that such a man today could so easily be swept from the ministry of the Prince of Peace into the service of a tribal deity, Jehovah, the man of war.

Such for what they are worth are the gains in the field of public opinion. But a public opinion far more enlightened than what we have may be of little hindrance in a steady approach to new war unless it can get itself expressed in official acts and attitudes and in the machinery of international relations. We must therefore briefly look at the crowded developments of the last few months in the midst of which our government is sowing the seeds of war or peace.

To begin with, Dwight Morrow was confirmed by the Senate as Ambassador to Mexico. He with the aid of Will Rogers and Lindbergh began saying it with flowers to the Mexican people instead of brickbats—or bullets. I am afraid that what Mr. Morrow is saying

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is still the message of economic imperialism. Certainly we are far from having worked out with the Mexican government or people a fair and fraternal solution of the problems of oil and investments. Nevertheless the change in our manner, due to Mr. Morrow's new tactics, and the definite and public exposure of the Hearst documents as forgeries, may be counted as steps toward peace with our nearest Latin American neighbor.

Christmas week saw the reopening of hostilities in Nicaragua. American boys killed and were killed in the wholly unauthorized war begun by our Administration to keep Nicaragua safe for American investments. It would be a criminal optimism that would seek to find any gain for peace whatsoever in this whole tragic Nicaraguan business and the stupid or hypocritical arguments by which it is sought to justify it. Public pressure which about a year ago was so effective in preventing war with Mexico has not made itself felt in the case of Nicaragua. A war with Mexico would have been a man-sized job and so we all got excited about it. But Nicaragua is a little country and what are marines for except to see the world and restore law and order in nations sufficiently weak, and guarantee the safety of the adventurously dollars of stay-at-home investors. This acquiescence of Congress and the public in the little wars we call intervention is the black side of the pic-

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ture. Nevertheless I am convinced that even in the case of Nicaragua there is a widespread uneasiness in America about our conduct which finds some expression in Will Rogers' pointed jests. If a man like Senator Borah had ever properly aroused this latent opposition and led it there might have been a different story to tell in those Central American jungles where American boys have fought and died for a cause which is not by any stretch of the imagination their own or their country's.

It is this same intervention in Nicaragua, like our earlier intervention in Haiti, which blights and taints all that the Administration has done for the cause of peace. Take the Havana Conference, for instance. That it was held at all at this juncture, that it was attended by so notable an American delegation, that it did discuss after some fashion problems of interest to all the American countries was a step toward that internationalism which alone is a sure basis for peace. It was in line with a growing sense of internationalism for Mr. Hughes to insist that nations have duties as well as rights. Alas, he could not carry his own reasoning to its logical conclusion: an extension of international machinery for coöperation and conciliation. In dealing with the little nations against whom Mr. Hughes piously protests we have no aggressive intentions we

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constitute ourselves sole judge of our rights and their duties. We are prosecutor, judge, jury and sheriff in our own case. Like the European powers we apply toward nations sufficiently weak a rule that we would not sanction for a moment against ourselves or seek to apply against a well-armed neighbor. American prestige, the desire of our Latin American neighbors for loans, their quarrels with one another, diplomatic caste feeling, Mr. Hughes' skill in conference, all combined to win for the United States a formal victory at Havana. They did not win for the United States the affection of its neighbors. Yet though our hearts may be heavy that more was not done in Havana, the proceedings there seem to constitute a small and tentative forward step in our official attitude toward our Latin neighbors and in the growth on this hemisphere of the international mind.

This same sorry Nicaraguan adventure, the fulminations of our big navy advocates and the ineptness of our State Department have also jeopardized the magnificent gain that we should like to expect from the Administration's apparent espousal of the Levinson-Borah plan for the outlawry of war as an instrument of public policy. This is not the place to repeat the arguments that I have frequently advanced concerning the limitations of outlawry of war as a sole road to peace. It is,

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however, or may be a highway for the nations. But in a suspicious world you cannot at one and the same time display with pride a plan to outlaw war and to build the biggest navy in the world without awakening that age-old suspicion of the Greeks bearing gifts. Nor shall we win admiration for our sincerity by proposing to outlaw war but to preserve unchallenged our right of intervention—a right which means nothing but the grimmest sort of war for the little nations involved.

Nevertheless, in spite of all drawbacks, it must be counted a definite gain for peace that Secretary Kellogg went so far as to propose in his correspondence with M. Briand multilateral treaties outlawing war. Mr. Kellogg is quite right in pointing out the advantages of treaties open to the nations generally instead of open only to two contracting governments. To outlaw war with France alone with no provision for similar treaties with other powers would have psychologically, and in some emergencies practically, the effect of a quasi alliance with the favored country. All nations including Russia should be invited, nay urged, to outlaw war by general agreement. If the obligations of some nations to the League of Nations hinder the outlawry of war, as M. Briand has seemed to argue, that is a disquieting fact which inevitably and properly will give the American people new cause for staying

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out of the League. It is hard to believe that intelligent and friendly American diplomacy cannot meet these objections and in the long run help to build a strong League based on the idea of outlawing war rather than of enforcing peace. To do this it may be necessary to admit as a definition of aggressor nation the simple formula that that government is the aggressor which refuses to submit its case to judicial settlement, arbitration, conciliation or conference.

One danger is that our government and people may become intoxicated with a phrase and not realize the amount of careful detail work to be done in achieving the outlawry of war. For instance, the new arbitration treaty with France which the Administration has submitted to the Senate, while it piously commends the outlawry of war in the preamble, represents little if any of an advance over existing treaties in its binding articles. There is an opportunity to do much better in negotiations with England and Japan. Arbitration should be supplemented by conciliation as under the Bryan treaties and conciliation by conference before any resort to war is even thinkable. Here is a chance for American diplomacy to take a sound and practicable step in line with its own attitude toward the outlawry of war.

Last of all, Congress has given us definite ground for

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encouragement by its obvious intention to defeat the ridiculous and dangerous big navy bill which our belligerent Admirals forced upon a bewildered Secretary Wilbur and a hesitant President. As I write the fight is not over. We may still squander money unnecessarily on the navy but we shall not commit ourselves to an \$800,000,000 first installment for the purchase of the next war. That is a real and substantial gain for which we have to thank not the wisdom of the Administration but of the people who made their wishes unmistakably clear to Congress.

So we draw to the end of our cautious appraisal of recent gains in the quest for peace. It must be remembered that we have confined our inquiry to the American scene in accordance with the purpose of this book and we have approached the American scene not primarily to balance the forces making for and against peace but deliberately to seek for what encouragement we may find. That there are menacing offsets to these gains in the loss of belief in the possibility of permanent peace, in the deliberate militarization of our choicest youth under the National Defense Act, and most of all in the relentless march of American imperialism to which we have referred needs only to be stated by way of reminder.

Of peace plans there is scarcely any end. These plans

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are by no means mutually exclusive. None of them nor all of them together is a panacea for the devastating plague of war. For the great boon of peace we shall have to pay a bigger price than the adoption of any specific plan within the framework of a political and economic system which rests on the exploitation of weaker nations and of the working classes within strong nations as its foundation stone. This is not the place to discuss the causes and cure of war. It is the time to remind myself and whatever readers these pages may have that the struggle against war cannot yet be called hopeless; that in proportion to the efforts that have been put forth in behalf of peace results have been achieved; and that the Great War itself and its tragic aftermath have prepared men's minds for new and more intelligent crusades for peace.

5. RECENT IMPROVEMENTS IN RACE RELATIONS

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5. RECENT IMPROVEMENTS IN RACE RELATIONS

by CHARLES S. JOHNSON

THE social history of the United States is largely a story of the successive waves of immigration to these shores with their varied cultural backgrounds, and political entanglements. Differences in religion, nationality, color, language, and status have been, as often as not, regarded indiscriminately as fundamental racial differences. This is not unexpected in a population so highly mixed as our own. Race relations, however, are not commonly thought of in terms of adjustment between these diverse racial groups. There is, for example, slight concern about the relations between the Japanese and the Irish, or the Jews and the Italians. These relations are conceived in terms of adjustment to the earliest immigrant stock, which was English and Protestant. The racial attitudes have been shifting and confused, for, despite the convenient theories of race, it has been difficult, even for the anthropologists, to arrange these groups into convincingly final ethnic classifications.

A vague but practical principle of distinction and treatment has been assimilability,—vague because it has never actually been reconcilable with the current

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racial dogma, and practical because it raised no permanent barriers where the lack of conspicuousness of a group would permit a quiet disregard of these barriers. The result has been that the notions regarding assimilability itself have shifted with economic imperatives, geography, volume, politics and in a very recent period, with the somewhat questionable determinations of the intelligence tests.

It is a significant fact that each new layer of immigration has encountered a harsh social resistance on the part of those racial groups longer in residence. This resistance has been characterized by isolation, social ostracism, disparaging observations upon the state of civilization of the newcomers, and, not infrequently, a display of violence. In course of time, hostility has tended to disappear toward those racial groups with least observable differences from the dominant stock. The conspicuously different races, however, whether in the matter of religion, or color, or language, or persistent old world customs, to the extent that they resisted assimilation, or were denied it, have become the problems of relations.

Despite the recurrent flares of hostility, with a strong economic flavor, improvement has been marked in the relations of the first group, for where they have not been

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actually absorbed, the racial theories have expanded to embrace them, as when the emphasis shifted from Anglo-Saxonism and Aryanism to Nordicism. Benjamin Franklin observed of the now quite respectable German stock in Pennsylvania, that they were inordinately stupid, and the State at one time considered enacting rigid exclusion laws against them on grounds of general undesirability. The Irish who came in vast hordes following the potato famine in the "forties," were conspicuous for their religion, which was Catholicism, for a rather low economic status, and for their age-old conflict with England. Holding bitter memories of their dependence upon the soil, they crowded into the cities of the expanding east to do the rough menial tasks of road building and canal digging and constructing of public works. They encountered a settled hostility which frequently erupted in clashes. To their stock was attributed a long list of obnoxious traits, and they gained for themselves such inelegant names as "dirty micks," "shanty Irish," "paddies," and "yellow-bellies." As their status improved and they moved into political positions, the tight little isolated communities began to dissolve and the social attitudes toward them, at first regarded as thoroughly racial, tapered off into tolerance. Not so long afterwards, the arch agitator in

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America against Chinese immigration was Dennis Kearney, a native of County Cork. Scotch-Irish descent today carries no little weight.

No such marked improvement in relations has been noted for those races which have been conspicuously different. The so-called Mediterranean stock from Southern and Eastern Europe, the Jews, the American Indian, Orientals, and the Negro constitute the problems of race relations at present for our democratic society. In these relations the dogma of superior and inferior racial stock has played a vital and imperious rôle. Recurrent demands for new labor to develop new lands and industries have worked at cross purposes with specific racial ideals, and, in their general effects, influenced the racial dogma alternately in quite opposite directions.

The Mediterranean stock is commonly referred to as the "new immigration" and began arriving around 1880, a period of great national expansion. Then it was noticed that Italians, Hungarians and Russians were exceeding in volume the familiar immigration from Great Britain, Germany and Scandinavia. The Italians, for example, who were the first of these new races to arrive, inherited the opprobrium which the Irish had sustained. Popular contempt branded them as "wops," "dagoes," "guineas"; respectable Americans

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shunned contact with them. The Italian riots which broke out in Louisiana in 1894-5 actually reached the point of diplomatic negotiations with Italy. The mounting numbers up to the period of the World War brought at first apprehensions and later convictions of their fundamental undesirability. The forty-two volume report of the United States Immigration Commission appearing in 1910 foreshadowed the new attitude toward these southern races. Efforts at Americanization immediately after the outbreak of the war represented a gesture in the direction of tolerance. The precipitous recession of nationals at the call of war, however, left the feeling that these groups had been but slightly affected by American institutions. In the end these artificial efforts at assimilation could not overcome entirely the new conviction that the "melting pot" policy had failed. A new theory of race was postulated which excluded them from the family of the chosen, and after the World War with its emphasis upon nationalism, the hundred per centers succeeded in establishing the inferiority of these South European peoples through social statistics and the intelligence tests. The result was the drastic immigration legislation of 1924 which restricted their numbers while permitting slight change in the inflowing currents of "Nordic" races. More recently, there has come a sof-

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tening of attitudes and soberly urgent measures to remove some of the obvious hardships of the laws. These measures have been humanly concerned with uniting of those families separated by the cold operation of the quota system. Objections have gradually been shifting from racial to economic issues, and there is more willingness to acknowledge the possible artistic contributions of these stocks to the cultural future of America. The second and succeeding generations of these families have, by losing their racial characteristics, tended to lose their racial identities, and consequently much of the racial feeling which attached to the differences. The biographies of some of our now important Americans who came as poor immigrants of this unpopular stock, offer a rich revelation for the students of race and environment and point to the material gains in relations for which, perhaps, theories of human justice were less responsible than normal circumstances.

It was Israel Zangwill, a distinguished Jew, who coined the phrase "the Melting Pot." This race has been conspicuous for its religious traditions and to a certain extent its distinctive features, language and names. Theirs has been a long history of persecution not confined to America. Coming as they did to escape persecution in Europe and settling in dense clusters in a few of the eastern cities, principally New York,

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where one-half of the Jewish population is concentrated, the ethnic sufficiency of this group, its resistance to assimilation, its non-Protestantism, its disposition to international-mindedness, and its financial competence, have constituted the grounds for dislike. Relations have varied with the country of origin of the Jews. The years have marked a gradual increase in their control of finance and business which has fostered acceptance even where there has not been complete tolerance. The most pronounced difficulties have appeared when it was possible to observe evidences of what have been described as traits of corporate Jewish life. As the dense clusters of population have dwindled away, from the fringe inward, scattering to less conspicuous neighborhoods, and individual successes of members of the race have confirmed their strength, the harsher features of relations have diminished. It is, for one thing, more difficult for the ordinary person to recognize a Jew except by his name, and anti-Semitism in other circles carries less conviction. For the man in the street, Charlie Chaplin, Ramon Navarro and Vilma Banky are popular heroes of the screen. The race of Irving Berlin and Al Jolson offers a few emotional complications, and "Abie's Irish Rose" remained a continuous Broadway success for more than five years. Jewish scientists, scholars and philanthro-

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pists now tend to give an incongruous aspect to the traditional prejudices.

The part played by Jewish minds in the creation of Soviet Russia and in American labor movements regarded as radical stimulated hostility shortly after the World War, but these have been in rather disjointed relationship with race. Russia has been remote and as interesting as an experiment to non-Jews as to Jews, and there have been as many Jewish employers affected by radical labor movements as Jewish employees. Among the younger generation few of the marks of their original isolation in America remain, though subtle discriminations and social ostracism still appear. Of these, the recent attempt at Harvard to limit the number of Jewish students is typical. There are hotels and apartment houses which discriminate against their patronage. These limitations as frequently as not are based upon racially distinctive names. There is no more positive evidence of improved relations here than in the rather ridiculous failure of the anti-Jewish propaganda of Mr. Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent*.

The relations with Orientals have been largely a sectional problem involving the Pacific Coast and the religion of white supremacy. In the far West where few European foreigners penetrated, workers were needed for the essential menial tasks of building up the coun-

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try and carrying out the gigantic program of road building to connect it with the East, while the native population speculated in land and gold. The industry, loyalty and ethical principles of the Chinese were rated high and they were brought in in large numbers. When gold and land speculating reached a limit and the natives went back to work, these Chinese were promptly decried as a menace. Anti-Chinese movements sprang up, their distinctive traits re-appeared utterly transformed: They were immoral, criminal, quietly treacherous, clannish, exploiters of the soil, dangerously inferior, pagan, and were lowering the standards of living for Americans generally with their cheap labor and primitive wants. The mounting intolerance culminated in the Exclusion Act of 1882.

In the same section, however, there were vast areas that needed to be developed for agriculture. Fishing and logging required men. With fresh tolerance, the Japanese were encouraged to come. They were cordially welcomed and accorded many privileges. Their efficiency in agriculture was what the wild, humid valleys of California needed and desired above all else. Scarcely ten years had passed before this efficiency became the roots of a new intolerance and anti-Japanese sentiment began to show its head. They became the Yellow Peril threatening white supremacy throughout the world and

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especially in California. In response to popular agitation the famous Gentleman's Agreement was set up, followed by the Anti-Alien Land Laws, and finally by the stinging insult of the Exclusion Act of July, 1924.

With smaller numbers of Orientals tension has relaxed. Tolerance toward the Chinese is increasing, and attitudes are shifting back to the virtues of their peaceful dispositions. American interest follows with no little sympathy the struggles of the Nationalists in China; Chinese students are welcomed again. More is heard now of Chinese art and ethics and early civilization.

Relations with the Japanese have had a different course. At first they were sympathetically regarded as a small but plucky people overawed by the giant Russia. Their efficiency was extolled and they were encouraged to settle here in larger numbers. When in 1905 this little nation defeated Russia and rose promptly to the status of a world power, the attitude changed to a resistance based upon suspicion and fear. The result was an exclusion policy, needlessly offensive. With regard to this race, an internal problem has been avoided but it is not improbable that an international one has been unnecessarily provoked.

The newest racial wave in response to the demand for labor is from Mexico. When the sweeping immigration legislation of 1924 was passed, popular feeling

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was sufficiently tolerant to permit them to escape being placed on a quota basis. Mexico no more than Canada, it was felt, need be affronted by such restriction. Moreover, it would be impracticable to police the Mexican border. Between 1920 and 1928 about a half million Mexicans entered, and reaction appeared in petitions to Congress to place the country on a quota basis. The Mexicans are now viewed as inferior colored peoples "wresting the Southwest from Americans." "For the sake of speeding up the utilization of our natural resources," one protest runs, "we are creating for ourselves a social problem, full of dismal prospects, of race hatreds, of social ostracisms, and perhaps lynchings, and race wars."

If the various methods of forcibly disposing of the problems of "non-assimilable" races marks progress in race relations, there have been distinct gains. These races have been immigrants and the privilege has been exercised of regulating this immigration to suit racial policies. This policy as applied to conspicuously different immigrant races avoided the problem of finding a friendly basis on which they might exist together. The American Indian and the American Negro, however, fall outside the category of immigrants. The Indians have been treated as wards and alternately exploited and sentimentalized. Their numbers have been

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dwindling consistently and with this decline in numbers has gone a corresponding decline in their importance as a racial factor in America. The Negro population remains as the outstanding problem and challenge of race relations.

Fundamentally, one determinant of the character of race relations here is the conceived Negro status. The first status of Negroes was not so much a matter of race as of class and religion; they were indentured servants on the same plane with white servants who were also sold to planters. It was fifty years before an act was passed to determine who should be slaves. As slavery became profitable more binding acts followed. The relations were those of Christians to pagans, who were to be proselyted. Conditions were so unsolidified that further laws were required to prevent manumission by will. Negroes fought in unsegregated regiments in the Revolutionary war, and, in the South, with the spread of Protestantism before 1800, worshiped with whites in the same churches. One full-blooded Negro, sent by North Carolina white persons to Princeton, to see if a Negro could be educated, returned to preach to whites in the Presbyterian churches of the State and conducted a classical school from which were graduated, among others, two sons of Chief Justice Henderson; Mangum, the great Southern Whig; and the

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grandfather of a famous Episcopal Bishop, who boarded in the home of the Negro. When Andrew Jackson was inaugurated, Negroes were at the dinner.

Although none of these things could happen today in the same sections, it scarcely means that relations are not improved. For the standard of relations was so utterly different as not to interfere with the relatively fixed status of the slave. When came the necessity of justifying slavery, the theories were altered and eventually crystallized into the dogma of an unchangeable inferiority which has been with us, in various forms, ever since. The full gamut has been run, from the first fumbling scientific assertions of uneducability—"the fixed and eternally inseparable result of the Negro organism, which without a re-creation—another brain—could no more be otherwise than that water could run up a hill"—to the Biblical passages adduced, at first hesitatingly and finally in a vast unbroken chorus, in defense of slavery. These convictions deepened with every occasion for defense, either against argument or contradictory fact, into an antagonism which became solidified and arrogant at the top, and among the poorer classes, who were impoverished and debased by the system, into a resentful hostility.

For the attitudes governing race relations, one over-

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shadowing memory survives—the Civil War, and the period of Reconstruction. Pride humbled, wealth lost, grandeur gone, illusions shattered, and with this a haunting fear of their former slaves, there endured a bitter hatred of the powers that held them there, a menace. Secret violence followed, glorified through the first Ku Klux Klan into a virtue. No period has been so full of hatreds. Unavoidable, perhaps, but the whole course of race relations in America since has been a softening of these grimaces. Here were born the ogres: “Would you want your daughter to marry a Nigger?” “white supremacy,” the orthodoxy: “Blood will tell,” “the Solid South,” the religion of conscious “white domination.” Slowly the poor whites came to life again, conscious of the Negro who carried the sting of his competition beyond slavery and defiled work for him by having been a slave to it. Slowly the poor whites came into power, and becoming articulate, through their leaders, reduced to cold, brutal ritual a position which could not be reached by counter-argument. Judge Benjamin Tillman, of Quitman, Georgia, summed up this philosophy in a burst of feeling which stands as the keynote of a period not so remote:

The Negro bears about him a birthright of inferiority that is as unalterable as eternity. He who, in the morning of Creation, set the shifting sands as a barrier to the mad

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waves of the mighty deep and said thus far, has also set His seal upon the Negro forever in his black skin, kinky hair, thick lips, flat nose, double layer of skull, different anatomy, as well as analogy, from white men. His stupid intellect is fulfilled in prophecy, uttered thousands of years ago, but no less true today, "A servant of servants shalt thou be."

The North had become contrite and vacillated indecisively between abstract justice for the Negro and magnanimity toward its late enemy. "Non-interference," "The South's peculiar situation," "Let the South solve its own problem," "The South needs no meddling interference"—these were the key phrases. Jim Crow laws throughout the Southern states became epidemic. Between 1881 and 1907 all the southern states enacted laws separating the races on railroad cars, street cars and schools, laws excluding Negroes from jury service and the primaries, while the northern states were enacting Civil Rights Bills. On the wild wave of the poor white's coming to power, few voices dared be raised in protest. Coming to power meant coming into political office and the redoubling of the fear of losing this power through colored adherents to the opposing party. There were evasions of the amendments, intimidations, circumventing procedure, and movement toward a codification of the new common

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law, a fixing of those complaints of Negroes which are heard to the very present.

The practice of lynching took on a new impetus; it became a hybrid sport-vengeance. Invitations to some of these were sent in advance to reporters as remote as New York. In 1892 the number of Negroes lynched was 155. The Church was quiet. "The purity of white womanhood" was a loaded phrase exploding with a terrible meaning; never defined, but the definition of any conduct which was displeasing. It held in check, by its vague but certain violence, the first faltering steps toward a reconsideration of race relations. South Carolina, quicker to respond to the urging of white labor with its strategic baggage of emotion, forced cotton manufacturing industries by law to institute race separation from work rooms to entrances, and by one stroke, excluded Negroes from every textile mill in the state.

Steadily southward and westward the Negroes were being pushed losing their trades, leaving the old farms, unable to get work in the North though unhindered in the exercise there of citizenship rights. The press of the North and South held them between pictures of the romantic "uncles and aunties, who were Chesterfields in black" and criminal, immoral, shiftless characters. The Atlanta riot broke, with more bitter-

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ness and the squelching again of feeble but persistent efforts to build a new structure within the shell of the old. The dribbling of Negroes northward became noticeable. Two national organizations were formed in New York with the first formal inter-racial boards of control, one to work against the spread of more vicious laws, the other to work with the Negroes themselves.

The suddenness and phenomenal changes of the World War drew together the scattered threads of race relations, and by its profound disturbance of such poise as had been reached, shifted the standard of relations to a full new basis. More than a million Negroes moved from the South, from agriculture to industry, from country to city. The increased proportions of Negroes brought limitations of their privileges in the North, and in the South, out of fear of serious loss, a weakening of some of the more acute restrictions and abuses; there were race riots in Washington, Chicago, Omaha, Helena (Arkansas), East St. Louis, Tulsa. Passion ran high and blood was shed. The prophets saw race war ahead, the blackest period of history, because the most mutually destructive. Negroes, a hopeless minority, were meeting force with force. Physical repugnance in housing was being expressed through the sharp finality of bombs. Economic rivalry was fiercest at precisely the moment Negroes

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were moving deepest into the web of industrialism. They broke the steel strike in Pittsburgh and the pent resentment of organized labor exploded. White employers in the North, urged on by a vast unprecedented need for workers, encouraged the migrating numbers; white employers in the South, threatened full and hard for the first time with the loss of cotton pickers, cooks and easy, unprotesting labor, became attentive long enough to hear new principles of race relations. The Atlanta Plan of Interracial Coöperation was born, a meeting across the barrier of race and inviolable traditions, to discuss the sentimental sources of unrest among Negroes, to forestall violence and soften public opinion. Negroes of character might be addressed as "Mr." and "Mrs."; if too much publicity was not given in the South they might meet and sit together in the same room,—the more acute and demonstrable abuses of peonage and lynching could be attacked; if separate accommodations were embedded as an inviolable part of the public mind, the Negroes at least might be given a closer approximation to the "equal accommodations" mentioned abstractly in the laws. The work of the Southern Interracial Committee, following the more tentative and respectful activities of the scattered college professors and a few liberal ministers, spread and over 800 committees were organized in southern coun-

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ties. Women of the South's finest families and traditions stripped of its power with one revolutionary declaration the never-failing appeal to hostile passion and display.

We believe that no falser appeal can be made to southern manhood than that mob violence is necessary for the protection of womanhood or that the practice of lynching and burning human beings is an expression of chivalry.

We believe that these methods are no protection to anything or anybody but that they jeopardize every right and every security that we possess.

The press caught the spirit, the "better citizens" became quietly active; small but significant changes occurred. The Rosenwald school program was supported to reduce the disparity in provisions for education. While the Governor of Mississippi was storming against Negroes, the Governor of Georgia with amazing boldness was putting down his foot on peonage, North Carolina was breaking away on a frank program of education for Negroes, and the Governor's wife was lecturing for improved race relations.

The shifting status of Negroes along with the increasing standards generally of the white population has shoved back the horizon to new necessities in inter-racial adjustment, new principles of race relations.

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Rarely does development come in an unbroken course. The present state of these relations, however, may be seen now fully, against the background of the past. Seventeen cities in the North within the past four years have been conspicuous for clashes in housing; resistance to the "invasion of white neighborhoods," and vehement charges of "property depreciation" have grown as the Negro population spread. Segregation, instead of lessening, has tended to increase. The Supreme Court decided against the validity of city ordinances segregating neighborhoods, but restrictive compacts were drawn among white property owners which accomplished the same fact, more effectively. Governors, Mayors, and Congressmen, gave the support of their names to anti-lynching legislation. An anti-lynching bill passed by the Lower House of Congress was filibustered to death in the Senate, with no important popular protest following. A wave of intolerance curiously linked with Protestantism gave a new sanction to "holding the Negro in his place." Indiscriminately intolerant toward Catholics, Jews, foreigners, the Klan has aided its own death through duplicity and greed. Virginia with belated fright passed an unenforceable race purity law to detect traces of Negro blood, and disclosed to itself some rather shocking revelations. Aiming a blow at Hampton, it passed legislation

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against race contact, and in Richmond indulged in the extraordinary pettiness of holding up an appropriation for the public library because a white man wanted the old Negro janitor's job. Atlanta, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina, have put forth bills to prevent Negro barbers from handling white trade; the growing labor consciousness of the South is barring Negroes from trades; northern universities have introduced limitations on Negro students and some have quietly barred them entirely. Agitation for separate Negro schools in the North has met with some success, and schools have been established in certain states which have Civil Rights Bills. Five northern states have had anti-marriage bills in their legislatures, but like Iowa, discovering that there had been no intermarriage, failed to push the point. Personal privileges have been limited for Negroes in every city where the population has become large, making it appear to many, that no measurable gains have been made at all in race relations; rather, that these relations merely have been leveled over a wider area.

Science, which at first lent itself so completely to the defense of popular desires, has made a major, even if not calculated contribution, to race relations by its increasing willingness to follow facts wherever they lead, by modifying theories based too rashly upon

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guesses and prejudiced opinion, and by a disposition to admit facts of race which contradict even the most cherished theories. The long line of measurements of racial difference beginning in phrenology and ending in the intelligence tests has not now the most authentic support of science. It refuses to assert that there are fixed differences between superior and inferior races: "The various races and peoples of the world are essentially equal in mental ability and capacity for civilization." Instinct, the postulated seat of convenient prejudices based on natural aversions and antipathies, has been questioned, granting at least the hope of improvement in human nature. It is now no more a part of the best intelligence to entertain the old theories about race than to hold the old theories about the mental status of women.

The newer generations of whites and Negroes have, fortunately, broken memories of bitterness in past relations, and in the universities, where there is contact, a few important movements have begun which have not been wholly without southerners. The Negro-Caucasian Club at the University of Michigan, the Interracial Discussion Groups at the University of Chicago, the International House at Columbia are perhaps the best developed of these. The University of North Carolina has entertained at least three Negro

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lecturers. The conference at Vassar and the admission this year of a Negro girl at Bryn Mawr are flashes of a new spirit of youth in race relations. Moreover, this has been a consistent and important item in the program of youth movements. The strike of white Gary high school students for an "all white High School" was a movement backed undoubtedly by community sentiment for separate schools in this Northern state. Significantly, however, as the wide discussion indicated, the move was not taken for granted. It was rebuked as a step backward even by the conservative press, and regarded as "unsportsmanlike and uncitizen-like" by student publications of the North.

At least it can be said that the taboo on the Negro has been broken, and the question admitted to discussion. This discussion has been fierce and heated but seldom does it reach the extravagance of twenty or even ten years ago. Texas, now, is the capital of the Ku Klux Klan. Its lily-white primary law was challenged and declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and it set about to devise new circumventions. Yet in the same town in which John R. Shillady, in open daylight and with popular condonement, less than ten years ago was attacked on the street, because he represented the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Owen R. Lovejoy in replying to

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one in his audience who asked the ultimate question about Negro rights, was applauded for his bold and unequivocal position.

The policy of the government in Haiti and the Virgin Islands is a contradiction of its highest principles. The subject, despite its embarrassment, is discussed. A commission of investigation has published a volume which makes no compromises with principle or expediency; and through the irony of entangled emotions and interests the Negro president of Haiti dined with President Coolidge, without a murmur of comment from the press.

Whether as cause or effect, the new self-consciousness of Negroes, following the war, the measure of economic freedom and perhaps most importantly their removal by more than a generation from the status of slavery, has turned them back frankly and critically upon themselves. The lessened sensitiveness, the new confidence, the capture of beauty, the frank return to the rich materials of their own lives and racial history, have started a subtle shifting of emotional emphasis from problem angles to art and softened relations perceptibly. Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, and Gilpin have created in their art a common and impeccable bond across the line of race. This influence is noticeable in the elevated prestige of the artists of the race. It

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has created for them a "renaissance," a new freedom of cultural intercourse, and set new patterns of the Negro as the foundation of a new principle of relations. Nor can the strange, mad sweep of Negro folk creations—the spirituals, African art, the dance, jazz, and the Blues—be ignored in the new tolerance and curiosity about Negro life. This has been followed by demand for articles, stories, plays and poetry which offer glimpses into this world of human life so long ignored. It is significant that the white writers of the New South—Stribling, Shands, Clement Wood, Du Bose Heyward, Julia Peterkin, Paul Green, Guy Johnson—are finding the materials of Negro life a medium for the highest expression of their art. As an authentic approval of these values, Paul Green's play of Negro life, "In Abraham's Bosom," received the Pulitzer Prize for 1926; Julian Harris of the Columbia, Georgia, *Enquirer-Sun*, received for his brilliant editorials against racial and religious bigotry, the award for greatest service contributed by a newspaper in 1925. The Dallas (Texas) Players won the Belasco Cup in amateur productions with "The No 'Count Boy," a wistfully beautiful story of a Negro lad. Moreover, these same players produced "Black Belt," a play striking at the heart of lynching in Dallas. More books on the Negro have appeared in the past

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four years than in the full generation before. Courses of study have been introduced into universities both North and South. A notable shift is observed in the attitude toward Negroes and white leadership. Insistence upon the tutelage regarded as essential ten years ago has relaxed. Howard University has a Negro president and Fisk University a white president and both a mixed faculty.

There is still segregation, though with the possible difference that the exceptions provoke less commotion than formerly. There is an adjustment in working relations in advance of the status of twenty years ago, but without the freedom of the trades for Negroes characteristic of forty years ago. The next few years may bring new complications with Mexican labor, or as a result of the introduction of the recently invented cotton picking machinery in the South. Most of the old inflaming slogans are dead or dying, the ban is being lifted on voting, the use of this vote has at least in two known instances in the South aided the election of intelligent and fair-minded officers. Lynchings have decreased 90 per cent since 1892,—and it constitutes positive guilt to hold silence on it. The South is finding a new interest in business and industry, and relations are becoming less personal. All but eleven of the International Unions have removed the constitutional

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bars to Negro membership, and although this was scarcely more than a gesture of common-sense, admissions of Negroes to their organizations have increased. The 18th Amendment has contributed to the stirring of conscience on the 14th and 15th.

There was a time, and not so long ago, when even the most reasonable men recoiled before the meaning of a race relation founded upon the highest principles of ethics and Christianity accepted by themselves. And although as numbers go, few have actually achieved a full adjustment to it, or perhaps will do so in many decades, it can be counted as perhaps the greatest gain that it is not now so difficult to accept the principle.

6. THE BRIGHT SIDE OF THE AMERICAN
PRESS

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6. THE BRIGHT SIDE OF THE AMERICAN PRESS

by OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

IT would be far easier to record the extraordinary changes and developments which have taken place in the profession, or rather business, of journalism than it is to specify its positive gains during the last two decades. Yet there are some advances which can well be used to offset the seamy side of newspaperdom which, through its flamboyant ugliness and sordid sensationalism, obtrudes itself upon us at every street corner. It is true, however, that the bark of journalism is now sailing new and uncharted seas and no one is qualified to guess what the final destination, if any, may be, or even what the sextant and sun will show as to its position a dozen years hence.

For the changes in the business are as swift as they are kaleidoscopic. Formerly, when there were epoch-making inventions they affected the nation only slowly—witness the leisurely growth of railroad and telegraph. Now, however, automobiles and radios work their revolutions almost overnight and at once profoundly affect our whole social and economic life. Similarly, the new economic trends toward combinations; the ruthless blotting out of competitors in order to

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achieve a partial or an entire monopoly; the appearance of absentee ownership; the public marketing of the stocks or bonds of private companies; the development of chains of stores, or of similar businesses, and the steady drift toward standardization have all left their mark on the newspaper world. Dailies are disappearing constantly—at least sixty in 1927—because of the trend toward monopoly; all the dailies of some cities, like those of Pittsburgh, are owned by persons whose chief interests are in New York or California; Mr. Hearst alone has \$40,000,000 of securities in the hands of the public, the Scripps-Howard chain \$8,500,000, and others are following their example, while he and the Scripps-Howard combination own respectively 26 and 27 dailies. Finally, the news and feature syndicates, and the purchasing of “canned” editorials supplied by some distant agency giving the views of some unknown writer, supply the standardization which has gone so far as to crush out most of the old typographical individuality and to make it very difficult to distinguish between the dailies in different cities, except in so far as their genuine news pages are colored by their special local interests and news. In other words, the newspaper business is affected by the prevailing economic pressure precisely as are the drug business, the

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department stores, and many other lines of merchandise.

Against these things must be set the great improvement in the news offered by high-grade newspapers to their readers (throughout this article, I am dealing not with the tabloids and other forms of gutter journalism, but with the standard type of newspapers such as the New York *Times*, the Springfield *Republican* and the Baltimore *Suns*). This is not merely due to the large increase in the volume of news carried by the news services, notably the Associated Press and the United Press, but also to an increased desire for news created by the newspaper itself. It is beginning to penetrate the entire profession that the phenomenon of the huge business and circulation success of the New York *Times* has largely been due to the great amount of news that it has steadily crowded into its columns. It has by no means always lived up to its slogan, "All the news that's fit to print," but it has carried a volume of it which has probably not been surpassed by any newspaper in the world, unless it be some of the great South American dailies. It has rendered a fine service to contemporary writers and historians by printing verbatim the most important speeches and documents, a custom which it began during the war and has since

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continued. Moreover, this amazingly full record of the day-by-day world has been made accessible by an admirable index. I do not mean to imply that all the news that the *Times* has carried has been decent or that the character of its news is always beyond suspicion. It printed some very false news, indeed, during the war and in the years immediately thereafter, and can still go quite wrong, as is evidenced by its recent fabulous story of a revolt in the Russian Ukraine. The character of the news that it gets, moreover, as is always the case, is affected by the spectacles worn by its editors. It is not interested in labor *per se* nor in liberal movements for liberalism's sake. Just as a great liberal daily would be less interested in printing the records of happenings in the conservative camp, so the conservatives are less concerned with liberal happenings and are more and more inclined to doubt the value and circulation-increasing worth of purely liberal events.

The lesson which Mr. Ochs has given to the press, that a great daily may be built up without comic strips and Sunday "funny" supplements, and sensational make-ups and headlines, has had a great deal of effect upon the business as a whole. Papers like the *Baltimore Suns* have not needed to be told that this sort of thing pays. They have always valued honest news and car-

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ried plenty of it. The change with them has been a largely increased interest in foreign affairs, for which the World War, of course, deserves considerable credit.

Many rural editors and hosts of their readers discovered that there was such a thing as a Europe and Asia only when the events of 1914 compelled immediate attention to what was happening over there. The result is one of the finest gains that the newspaper has made during the last decade. We are getting original dispatches from many notable English, German, and French writers and are thus enabled to keep in close touch with the political happenings and the economic changes abroad. This desire for better foreign news has thus actually brought into the service of the American newspapers a whole corps of foreign writers. Here we have the best side of syndication, for it is the syndicates which make possible the purchase of articles from men like H. G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw, whose fees are beyond the purses of all but a few of the richest dailies, but can easily be met when the same article appears in a hundred.

The changed position of America since the war and the economic problems we have to face, such as the revolt of the farmers, are also responsible for an increased volume of news in the metropolitan dailies from the interior and the more remote portions of the

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country. It is still far too true that for the Eastern editor the western boundary of the United States is the Hudson River. Yet, if we compare the daily of 1900 with the daily of 1928 in this respect, the gain is there, even if the increased volume of news too often relates to the latest horrible crime in Los Angeles or Arkansas. Curiously enough, this decrease in the provinciality of our dailies, their self-emancipation from too great concern with local affairs, has its counterpart in the larger cities in the overlooking of vital local happenings there. This is sometimes due to a settled policy, at other times to a lack of space due to the enormously increased volume of advertising carried and the space taken up by more outside news, and by what may be characterized as purely amusement features, such as household hints, recipes for health, comic strips, advice to the lovelorn, and the cross-word puzzles—to say nothing of the whole sections that have been created by the discovery that the news of sports is one of the very best circulation-getters to be found.

It is another distinction of the New York *Times* that it has established a due proportion between advertising pages and those devoted to news. In some of the very rich and crowded dailies like the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, the Detroit *News*, and the Chicago *Daily News*, one can turn over page after page without find-

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ing more than a few lines of reading matter in the left hand upper corner of the page. It is, of course, impossible for a newspaper in one of our large cities to chronicle all of the local events of interest, significance, or importance. At the same time there is so much that is worth while left unreported and unrecorded that I have heard it suggested that the next great success in American journalism might well be a daily devoted entirely to local news, just as the *United States Daily*, published in Washington, limits itself to news of the activities of the Government of the United States. Should such a local daily appear, it would of course necessitate the purchase of two daily newspapers by the citizens who desired to be completely informed as to happenings at home and abroad. That undoubtedly would be a drawback, but when one considers the size of a city like New York, or Chicago, and the magnitude of its commercial, financial and social development, it would seem as if a distinct leadership might easily be developed by a newspaper of this kind.

How does the daily of today stand in relation to the advertiser? That is one of the first questions that is asked me whenever I speak on journalism, and from the character of the questions asked it is plain that the public believes that the press is in a large measure dominated by the advertiser. It is my belief that in this

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respect, too, we can record a great improvement in journalism. There are prostitutes in every profession and plenty of them among the 1,950-odd dailies published in this country. Weak newspapers are often likely to yield to the temptation to let the large advertiser take charge of their editorial columns; the strong ones are freer from temptation to yield and freer from danger of boycott, because groups of advertisers realize that the enormously increased volume of advertising in the successful newspapers has relatively decreased their individual value to the newspaper manager. Strong newspapers are indifferent to threats of boycott. I have before this recorded the courage of the *New York World* when a department store manager demanded that it should make no mention whatever of a serious elevator accident in the store. The answer of the *World* was to put the news of the accident at the top of its first page, under a conspicuous headline. There will of course always be dailies like the timid *Boston Herald* of today, which would die rather than voluntarily print an item of news which would reflect on an advertiser, or any of the business friends of the corporation managers who control the paper. But in this case the abdication of independence and fearlessness is not primarily in relation to the advertiser; it runs throughout the daily's relations to the public.

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That is, I think, the essential difference; where a newspaper yields to a cowardly fear of the advertiser it yields all along the line. It is to be had by any one who accosts it, instead of being complaisant to one group of patrons. It is, moreover, a long time since there has been recorded such a complete and determined boycott of a newspaper as took place in New York City in 1897, when all but one of the dry-goods stores in New York withdrew their advertising from the *Evening Post* because it violently attacked the law prohibiting American tourists from bringing in more than \$100 worth of foreign purchases free of duty, and thereby seriously injured the feelings of an association of local tradesmen in the metropolis.

As for the character of the advertising, here, too, we can record a great improvement, at least in the dailies in the big cities. The old patent medicine has been driven to the columns of the weeklies of the rural districts and the weak small-town newspapers in order to call its wares to the attention of the gullible. Laws against get-rich-quick advertising in the financial field have helped newspaper owners to a better morality.

It was not so long ago that some of the newspapers in New York freely printed advertising soliciting men, and were quite aware of what they were doing. The old New York *Herald*, of the second James Gordon

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Bennett, was the chief offender along this line and made enormous sums of money out of the "personal" advertisements that filled columns and columns, especially on Sunday. There happened to be in New York one day an honest and fearless United States District Attorney who dared to tackle what was then one of the most powerful dailies in the country. Mr. Bennett brought to bear all the influence that a rich man can, and hired as good lawyers as Mr. Harry Sinclair of oil fame has been able to obtain. But this District Attorney stuck to his job. He obtained a conviction and Mr. Bennett was compelled to cross the Atlantic in his palatial steam yacht. That little ship spent three days in New York Harbor and then put to sea; in the interim Mr. Bennett had appeared in court, heard himself castigated by the judge, and paid a fine of \$25,000. The name of the District Attorney was Henry L. Stimson, the same Henry L. Stimson who has just gone to the Philippines as Governor-General. To their shame be it said that not a single New York newspaper commented upon the verdict or gave Mr. Stimson the slightest credit for his fidelity to his oath of office. I was myself managing a daily in New York at that time. I cannot explain why it failed to comment on this happening as it should have, except that I can swear that it was neither cowardice nor prejudice which caused

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the oversight, nor sympathy for James Gordon Bennett.

Other factors which have helped newspaper editors to purify their advertising columns have been frequent successful suits against them—not, however, reported in their news columns—because of losses sustained through improper advertising, or because of misstatements in the advertisements themselves. A typographical error in a single small advertisement in an up-State New York newspaper in one of the larger cities is said to have cost that paper \$10,000. Though such happenings are rare they give a tremendous impulse to the movement within the business itself to purify the advertising columns. Dailies like the New York *Times* and the New York *World* now take the greatest care to censor their advertising, even to the extent of forming committees within the office to pass upon advertisements which would seem entirely acceptable to the average reader.

Still another abuse which is yielding to the progress of time is that of political advertising. Even the rural weeklies which in some counties in New York State used to be entirely supported by this kind of political pap, and by county printing jobs, are breaking away from this form of corruption, and of subserviency to political interests. The growth of legitimate advertising within

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their pages, such as the automobile advertising, has helped the offending editors to find other ways to a livelihood than by the sale of their editorial opinions for political printing and advertising. If the end is not yet, we have certainly gone a long step in the direction of ending this evil.

Even in the case of high-grade financial advertising there is greater circumspection than ever. The fact that there has been a court decision that even the line often put in advertisements by brokers and bankers to the effect that the preceding statements are correct according to the best belief of the brokers so far as the facts are known to them does not protect the merchandizers of the securities in question from liability for false statements made in the advertising. There is still, of course, a great deal of misrepresentation in advertising in relation to the quality of goods offered and the claims made for them; it is pleasant to record that some of the advertising agencies themselves are now moving to do away with these wrongdoings.

To return to the relationship of the daily newspaper to public opinion, there are still many instances where journals are ready to risk financial and circulation losses by going counter to the aroused sentiment of the entire community, or to the wishes of officials entrenched in authority. It is a great happiness to record

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that, despite the ever increasing dangers of commercialism, there are still brave men in the business ready, if necessary, to risk their lives in order to carry on campaigns for what they believe to be the right, such as that waked by Don H. Mellett of the Canton, Ohio, *Daily News*, who was murdered because of his determination to rid the city of the corrupt alliance between its criminals and its police, and other officials. Mr. Mellett's fellow-citizens, whose indifference to the political and social conditions in their own town made necessary his heroic sacrifice, have taken sufficient shame unto themselves to erect a monument to him. It is to two undaunted Indiana editors, Thomas H. Adams, editor of the Vincennes *Commercial*, who started the fight, and to Boyd Gurley, editor of the Indianapolis *Times*, a Scripps-Howard paper, which is believed to have lost 25,000 readers almost overnight because of its policy, that we owe the exposure of some of the corruption which has made a byword of the name of the State of Indiana. The fight against the Ku Klux Klan in the South brought out many similar examples of courage and fearlessness, notably in Alabama and Georgia, even when there was great risk of personal injury. True, these examples of patriotic devotion are not new; they can be paralleled by similar acts of courage throughout the history of the American press, but there

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is at least great satisfaction in knowing that this crusading spirit has also not yielded wholly to the untoward influences which menace the daily press of the large cities.

Chief of these is the control of the editorial pages by the narrow class viewpoint of the owners, many of whom have bought their dailies precisely as they might buy any enterprise in order to invest surplus capital. Against this undoubted deterioration of many editorial pages must be offset their emancipation from the narrow political partisanship which, with scarcely an exception, dominated the American press down to the Presidential campaign of 1884.

No one who is ignorant of the attacks of the hide-bound Republican press of that day upon editors who dared to break away from the party of Lincoln, can have any conception of the torrents of abuse and vituperation which poured down upon the devoted heads of bolting editors like George William Curtis of *Harper's Weekly*, Edwin L. Godkin of the *New York Evening Post*, John H. Holmes of the *Boston Herald*, and Samuel Bowles of the *Springfield Republican*. As late as 1896 the *New York Tribune* found it entirely in keeping with the then existing journalistic mores and standards of good taste, to write as follows about William Jennings Bryan:

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The wretched rattle-pated boy posing in vapid vanity and mouthing resounding rottenness was not the real leader of that league of hell. He was only a puppet in the blood-imbued hands of Altgeld, the anarchist, and Debs, the revolutionist. But he was a willing puppet, Bryan was—willing and eager. None of his masters was more apt than he at lies and forgeries and blasphemies and all the nameless iniquities of that campaign against the Ten Commandments.

Of course, nothing like that would be possible today. If the *Tribune*, or any other newspaper tried it, it would be laughed at and scorned. And this is another one of the great gains that are to be recorded in the development of the press. Even during the hysteria of the war and of the after-war period, such heights of journalistic blackguardism were rarely touched.

True, there has come a new alignment and a new partisanship. Just as in Congress we are seeing party lines broken by the interjection of purely economic issues such as farmers' relief and tariff, so we are seeing the break-up of party ties in the daily press over the same sort of economic questions. The concentration of wealth in the great metropolitan newspapers puts the newspaper managers into the big capitalists' class, something that was not usually the case twenty-five years ago. Hence they judge issues more and more with

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the same motives which influence the bank president, or the head of a trust or of a huge light and power corporation, to decide what his attitude will be toward a party platform, or some specific economic or political proposal. The New York *Times* still has the reputation of being an independent Democratic paper, but there are many issues upon which it sees eye to eye with the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* or the Chicago *Tribune* or the Philadelphia *Bulletin*. If the papers have been freed from narrow political partisanship they are in turn the victims of economic partisanship. At the same time it is perhaps an advance to have this understood—it will be more so as the years go by. Certainly it seems as if in the time to come the question we shall ask about dailies is not whether they happen to be Republican or Democratic, but whether they are for or against special privilege and whether they put human rights above or below property rights.

In any event it must be recorded with satisfaction, that, taking the press as a whole, there is far, far greater political independence than ever before. There are very few editors who do not know in their hearts that the old humbug that one must support a man for mayor or for governor because he bears a certain party label, is played out. Their public knows too well that there are crooks without number under both the Repub-

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lican and Democratic flags, and as a result they keep an "Al" Smith in the governorship of New York, or an Albert Ritchie in Maryland, or a George W. P. Hunt in Arizona for term after term. These three happen to be Democrats, but that is merely accidental.

I have often dwelt upon the loss to the press of the great editor and have pointed out that from Chicago to the Pacific Ocean there is only one editor with a national reputation—William Allen White. The disappearance of such picturesque personalities as Dana, Raymond, Godkin, Howell, Watterson, Nelson, and Mediall is to my mind distinctly regrettable. But that, too, is a phase of the transformation of the daily newspaper from a weapon forged for the purpose of teaching certain political views and inculcating political doctrines into a convenient vehicle for the rapid amassing of huge fortunes; since this is the trend and the inevitable development it is perhaps better for a true public understanding of the situation that there should not be distinguished editorial figureheads to conceal the character of a great daily and to camouflage its essentially commercial character. While it was undoubtedly easier to concentrate responsibility for his acts and words upon a Greeley or a Schurz, or a Melville Stone, the accountability is now directly transferred to the seat of power, in the case of the New York

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Times, to Mr. Ochs, in the case of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* to Judge Bingham instead of Henry Watterson. Mr. Ochs believes that no personality should stand out in connection with the *Times*—and hopes that it will grow on forever, not as *somebody's* New York *Times* but as *The* New York *Times*.

Should this institutionalizing of an impersonal journalism become prevalent, it would of course be met by a changed attitude on the part of the public toward the daily, and also perhaps on the part of the law-making bodies. It is even conceivable that if the rapid concentration of the control of public opinion in the hands of a few men should be carried to the same lengths in this country to which it has already been carried in England, where perhaps eighty per cent of the daily press is now owned by three groups—one might almost say three men—we might witness a control of the press in this country through a governmental agency similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission or the Federal Trade Commission. Certainly no country which bases its political system upon the foundation stone of two-party government and an enlightened electorate could permit the concentration of newspaper power in a monopoly or near-monopoly.

No account of the betterment of the press would be complete without a reference to the rise of certain

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dailies which has taken place in the last two decades. They are perhaps less significant in themselves than in the suggestion of what might be done to counteract the prevailing economic tendencies. One naturally thinks first of the *Christian Science Monitor*, the daily organ of a religious sect, which has become one of the foremost dailies in the country, notable in the cleanness of its news and the extraordinary attention it gives to printing accurate foreign news obtained from its own corps of selected correspondents stationed abroad. I do not know whether the *Monitor* has as yet achieved financial independence of the Mother Church, but I do know that it has grown steadily in the respect of many readers who are not Christian Scientists. It has the serious handicap that its news is censored in accordance with the peculiar teachings of the Christian Science Church, and that, therefore, it is compelled often to omit legitimate news because the element of death or illness enters into it. But as one not of that faith I have been earnestly hoping for its financial success in order that other groups might perhaps be stimulated to demonstrate that they, too, can maintain a great daily and keep it clean, honest, intelligent, and truthful, and perhaps also free from the limitations of any creed.

Another experiment, of an entirely different type,

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embodies a principle to which we may all have to come later on if we are to have a press free from the evils that attend it when it becomes a purely money-making institution. I refer to the *Jewish Daily Forward*, published in New York in the Yiddish language. By contrast to the *Monitor*, the *Forward*, I am told, frequently stoops to the gutter. Every time that I praise it in an article or a speech I am fairly overwhelmed by denunciations of the paper and of my gullibility in accepting what people tell me about it—I do not read Yiddish. But I am not concerned as to the quality of its pages or the character of all the articles that it prints. What interests me about the paper is that it is a non-profit-making daily. It is owned by an association of some fifty men, who never receive one cent from its operation. Its editors and managers pay themselves reasonable salaries, and the large profits which the paper has made have inured not to any individual connected with the paper but to the benefit of the causes in which the *Forward* is especially interested. To labor unions, to Jewish relief, for many other philanthropic purposes, it has turned over the large sums which it has earned.

I do not know when, if ever, we shall see a newspaper started on this plan in the English language; I wish it might come soon. For here is a newspaper which bene-

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fits by keen competition, and yet its editors are not corroded by having to earn certain sums, or a certain percentage of profit for the benefit of owners, some of whom may live in another section of the country. They thus escape the paralysis which seems to come upon endowed journals whose managers are under no incentive to make money, and therefore fail to keep their papers vital, interesting, and up-to-date.

Unfortunately, one of the most interesting developments of the last decade, the effort to maintain in Minneapolis a daily in the interest of labor, and the farmer-labor political movement of six years ago, came to an untimely end. Not because the idea of having a newspaper owned by several thousand persons is in principle impossible, but because it had from the outset untrained management. This may yet be a way out if our ordinary commercial dailies continue to disappear and large groups in a community find themselves without recognition in the press. It is, of course, entirely regrettable that we have not yet developed a powerful labor press in this country. For that matter, the great labor movement in England has founded only one daily, and has not yet been able to make it financially independent of gifts from the party treasury, or from those of labor unions. The next decade or two in this country may see a stronger movement in this direction which

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may produce more as successful as Victor Berger's Milwaukee *Leader*, and the others that somehow or other manage in the face of great difficulty to keep their heads above water. In this connection it is well to record that the Communist movement in this country is beginning to have its press, which is animated by a fighting spirit that gives it vitality, if it does not assume reliability or the willingness to record the facts about those who do not sympathize with its doctrines.

Similarly, the last decade has witnessed the continuing development of three liberal weeklies, *The Survey*, *The New Republic*, and *The Nation*, to say nothing of the service rendered by such monthlies as *Unity* and *The World Tomorrow*. I am, of course, too close to this movement in the press to be able to judge it, or to prophesy about it without bias. I am hopeful that they will gradually win their way to popular support, so that their place may be assured as permanent institutions in the field of journalism similar to that held by the more conservative weeklies. Time alone will tell. I should like to record here, however, that I meet an increasing number of daily newspaper men who tell me they believe that some of the present currents of daily journalism are bound to have their effect upon the weekly political and reform press to the benefit of the latter. Time will show; if there should be a lib-

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eral political reawakening, as is by no means impossible, this type of journalism will unquestionably profit.

At present the great opportunity of journalism for the aspiring young patriot seems to me to lie in the smaller cities. If one takes what Julia and Julian Harris have been able to achieve with their *Enquirer-Sun* in the small Georgia city of Columbus; if one recalls again the extraordinarily fine service rendered by a number of the Southern newspapers, one cannot but feel that here is at best journalistic progress, and at worst a holding fast to the old-fashioned standards of the press of a bygone day when many of the dailies were really actuated, like the old *Evening Post*, by the desire "to diffuse correct information on all interesting subjects, to inculcate just principles in religion, morals, and politics, and to cultivate a taste for sound literature," which was the purpose of that daily when it was founded by the friends of Alexander Hamilton at his instigation, and with his coöperation.

Finally, I must not fail to record two recent developments, both of them too new to make it possible to evaluate them or the promise they give to American journalism. Since, however, they have been started practically within the last two decades they deserve a place in this paper. I refer to the schools of journalism, and to the more recently formed Society of Amer-

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ican Editors, the latter for the avowed purpose of upholding ethical standards, and dealing with flagrant transgressions of the current code of journalistic morals. The difficulty with the Society is that its members are usually hired men who may preach standards and ethics, but who will accomplish nothing without the support of their owners. What kind of ethics can the editors of Mr. Hearst's papers uphold in practice, or the editors of the *Chicago Tribune*, or the *New York Daily News*, or the *Los Angeles Times*, or the newspapers owned by Cyrus H. K. Curtis? Everybody wishes the Society well, and hopes that it will accomplish a great deal, but it remains at present an experiment pure and simple, to be welcomed because, after all, it represents a stirring among the editors, and a realization that there are many and grave evils for them to cope with.

As to the schools of journalism, they, too, indubitably mark a tendency and a movement heartily to be welcomed. But they must be judged by what their graduates actually achieve. We must have proof that these neophytes are creating higher ethical standards and living up to them, before we may properly say that they are benefiting the profession. I cannot forget that some of the noblest editors we have ever had, who produced the finest newspapers ever published, both

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weekly and daily, were men who were trained in no schools of journalism, sometimes were even without high school training. But they had moral standards and ethical principles and lived up to them at any cost, without regard to the effect upon their personal fortunes, or the counting rooms of their publications. When men like these enter journalism it makes no difference where they were trained, or whether they had special instruction in the simple technique of a newspaper. They are bound to give the best that is in them, and that best is certain to leave enduring marks upon their profession and their times.

7. EDUCATION GOES AHEAD

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7. EDUCATION GOES AHEAD

by DALLAS LORE SHARP

IT is incredibly difficult to sum up anything as unreckonable as American Education, and adequately to estimate the progress and present gains of a national institution which covers the country, and which, at the same time, is strictly local to Montpelier, and Baton Rouge, and the town of Burns in the sagebrush of Oregon. The total annual education bill is something to put on paper, not on your conscience nor in your understanding, and the cost is ever growing. No other bill in the annual budget of my local town of Hingham approaches the appropriation for schools. The machinery involved, the officers involved, the students involved in American Education from kindergarten to graduate college leave the mighty statistical pen weaker than a wooden sword. No two surveys would find identical gains, nor evaluate them identically, the present surveyor being as aware of the personal, unprovable character of his summary as the most dissenting reader. But what can we prove in education? And how can we prove it?

We could resort to figures in this study—statistics, percentages, ratios, costs and comparisons; and we could have the National Bureau audit the account—if

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education were in sums, and averages, and plans drawn to scale. But it is only a little in these things, and a great deal in the spirit. How then, is there any statistician for the spirit? Any auditor for this impalpable part of the account?

One might go over the ground naming certain specific gains, say, Professor John Dewey of Columbia, the City of Cleveland, the extermination of cube root and Troy weight from our new humanized arithmetics, books like "Creative Youth," "The Growth of Teachers in Service," "The Road to Xanadu," organizations such as the Kansas State Teachers' Association and The Pennsylvania State Research Association, ideals and demands as those behind the National Education Bill (Curtis-Reed Bill, not *gained*, but *gaining*), and schools and buildings, such as the Bolton High School at Alexandria, Alabama, the Women's Summer Schools at Sweet Briar and at Bryn Mawr, and the National Summer School at Logan, Utah. So one might stop in ten thousand places, naming the school coach at Blue-water, New Mexico, and moving from that village on the Continental Divide down both ways to the bordering seas. The catalogue would thrill and confound us.

I must generalize not itemize, boost not knock, although it has been the universal habit, when short of writing matter, to larrup the schools. Set up a howl

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against education and every editor in the land will howl with you. Attack education for a timely topic! It is always with us and always open to attack. We all have to take it, and pay enormously for it, and suffer the shame of it—even vicariously in the end for our children, perfect children before they went to school! Education involves more of us than any other American activity; involves more money than any other American undertaking; involves more perfections than any other American doctrine; and consequently it involves more chance for fools, faddists, faultfinders, and editorial opportunists.

This whole vast pother is about the children. They are central in the picture. We are spending these millions and using the brains and lives of these tens of thousands for them—to get Nell a husband and Bill a job, *The Forum* says. Yes, we want Nell to marry, but she ought not, even if she can, without charm. We want Bill to make money and be useful as a citizen, but he cannot without a job. They both need education. And education, whatever it is, is all for them.

Testing everything by the needs of our American child, what are some of the gains in American Education? To begin with things general I would name organization. It is amazingly well organized. Starting with the grade teacher in her local teachers' club, that

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teacher through the larger county club, and state association, is linked with every other teacher in the land through the National Education Association. Not every teacher is in the organization, but many are, and the scheme provides for all, as it now benefits all. Every department of education is so organized, and every aspect; colleges tied to secondary schools, professional schools tied to colleges. The urban colleges organized; the land-grant colleges organized; New England colleges together; Middle States and Maryland colleges together; State Universities together; Medical Colleges, Catholic Colleges, Junior Colleges. There is an American Association of University Women, an American Association of University Professors, American Library Association, Association of American Colleges, an Association of American Medical Colleges, an Association of American Universities, a National Society of College Teachers of Education. This nowhere near exhausts them.

Take any department of instruction, say, English: there is the National Council of Teachers of English with an official journal, *The English Journal*, published in Chicago. Is it a course of study, English again? There is an "Essentials Committee" within the Council comparing courses of study east and west, north and south, clarifying, simplifying, systematizing, and uni-

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fyng the English work throughout the land. So from kindergarten to graduate school.

There is no chance here to discuss the dangers of over-organization. Just how such dangers can threaten education is difficult to see. Education is greatly over-mechanized, over-methodized, and over-theorized, but the great forces which handle the problems of American education down to the child himself can hardly be too well organized. In the actual work of teaching the teacher always stands alone, and the pupil stands alone. Neither is an order nor a society nor an organization, but always and ever a person in the class room.

The weakest place in the organization is the inadequate Bureau of Education at Washington, a statement which will provoke dissent. We need a *Department* of Education at Washington—a statement which will cause violent dissent. However, it seems to me that the fears and objections to such a Department are really bottomed upon other than educational grounds. The great dread of government control is imaginary. The present bill for such a department is so drawn as to make such control impossible. We have witnessed some outrageous instances of “centralized power” at Washington; but the tendency is now the other way. The new doctrine of “decentralized responsibility with central coöperation” is now operating in some of the de-

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partments at Washington, and is the only doctrine which could be applied to a Department of Education. The new education bill does not provide federal aid to the states for education, nor give to the Department control of education within the states, nor interfere with the conduct of private and parochial schools, nor standardize education within the states. What it does provide for is an advisory council of state superintendents of education, and for an authoritative and adequate agency and distribution of facts in the vast field of national education, for all the states at a minimum cost of effort and money. The Bureau of Education is utterly inadequate for all of this manifold, organized educational activity; the task is too large. This is the Nation's business, for the sole end and object of it all is The State, that is, the people. The very dream and drawing of such a bill, no matter how much it is opposed, nationalizes our educational mind and marks our greatest educational advance.

Accompanying this organization, both as cause and result, appears a new teaching morale. Teaching, clear down the line, has become a profession. A fine professionalism marks the spirit of the work, an enthusiasm and high exacting standards not surpassed now in any profession. That spirit is manifest throughout the profession: in the small, specialized class, or in the great

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annual convention, the apparent and electric thing is the new professional consciousness, bottomed not only upon the necessity and significance of the teacher's calling, but also upon the fraternity, the dignity, the universally recognized scientific standards of the calling.

The public is hardly aware of this new professional spirit, nor has it yet made adequate provision for the training and the compensating of it, large as have been the increases in salaries and study opportunities. Not many years ago I stood talking with the dean of a summer school. The students I had been addressing were drawn almost wholly from the teachers of that particular state. As they poured out of the hall past us one of them, a young girl, stopped to ask something of the dean, and he asked, in the course of the brief conversation, "Where are you teaching, Miss Maberry?" She blushed and answered, "I ain't never teached yet."

That thing can still happen—but not for long. Eighty-five per cent of the colored teachers of North Carolina were recently enrolled in summer training schools. The National Educational Association has established as a minimum standard for teaching, a course of study extending four years beyond the high school. That high level has not been everywhere attained, but nothing in American education is moving

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swifter than the whole teaching body toward this professional goal. The time is close at hand when our children shall have not only an educated teacher, but a trained teacher, as skilled as their family doctor and of the same professional spirit.

Along with teaching as a career and the growth of the professional spirit has gone a development in the physical equipment for education unparalleled in any other time or land. A log with a teacher and pupil astraddle of it may be an ideal university for Robinson Crusoe's Island, but education in the United States is not quite so simple. Million-dollar school houses have become as common as little red school houses used to be. Million-dollar teachers are multiplying, as we have seen, to furnish them. All that science and art can devise together for line and equipment inform these buildings from portico to locker rooms. Bodies, minds, and spirits of children are lovingly, wisely, beautifully built into them. Childhood is divine, and the worshipping nation has built it a temple in the American School.

What this temple is like without and within I have neither need nor space to describe. That there is still criminal crowding of children in school rooms everybody knows and admits. But motor, as I have recently done, through the early fall from Boston to Santa Barbara and note the buildings of the public schools

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and the building operations going forward. Crowning the heights of towns and set in ample spaces in the big cities, the public schools range across the continent the largest, most beautiful, most significant, most characteristic expression of our national democratic life.

And over them flies the American flag, the symbol of another important gain in our present education. In spite of religious differences and social presumptions, the public school is recognized as a national institution, bent strictly upon the nation's business. No other gain since the War is perhaps of such moment as the social and civic trend of public school instruction. It is impossible in so brief a space to make clear, or even adequately to characterize, this new mind and method in education. It was inevitable that education, shifting from its old subject-centeredness to child-centeredness, should come to see the child in all his human relations, and should try to make him over from self-mindedness to social-mindedness. In education now a quiet, constant emphasis is put upon the social virtues, such as health, fair-play, coöperation, clean-mindedness, poise, initiative, loyalty, politeness, orderliness, industry, public interest and the like, making distinctly for civic thought and the spirit of service. We are not now chiefly interested in the form and content of learning, but rather in doing and being, which are larger, more

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important, more enduring things. Self-government, student councils, honor study halls—there is no end to the devices in the new socialized education for developing in the child a social consciousness and a social conscience. Courses in civics, government, history, science and literature so studied develop such new bearings and so many unsuspected meanings, as to make the courses in history and biology furious storm centers at the moment, until *what* shall be taught in these two courses, and *how* it shall be taught, are “the most important curricula problems of the day.”

This large indefinite something dimly outlined above is not for such as are of little faith, who smile wisely at the foolishness of democracy. I should be a cynic myself, being a constitutional and a political democrat. I can't be cynical and be so intimately concerned with what is going forward in our schools. And this in spite of the Scopes Trial, and Mayor Thompson of Chicago, and the reactionary education bills bombarding every legislature in the land. The schools are in politics; but politics are in the schools—and there is hope there. The schools are in religion; but religion is also in the schools—and there is hope there. But the schools will keep, better and bigger schools, and they will continue to make over and amalgamate into a democracy this

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heterogenous and multitudinous mind which is America.

This brings us to the center of the ring against the heavyweight challenger of American education, that two-fisted bruiser who hates the mass and despairs of the individual. The absurdity of stretching education to cover all of us! The impossibility of *fitting* an education to each one of us! We are too numerous and too diverse. It *is* absurd. It *is* impossible. But it has to be done, and so we are doing it. Doing the impossible? Certainly. The impossible has always been done.

As referee in this fight I declare that education, on both counts, has won. If the battle all of these years has been doubtful, it no longer is. These two fundamental positions have been occupied and partly consolidated. American education is for all of the people, no matter how many millions of them; and for each of the people individually no matter how many millions there are of the individuals. We are making a poor fist of it in certain sections—over the South, for instance. But I wonder if in New England longer strides are being taken educationally than right now all over the South. Watch North Carolina—leading the rest of the states in many public school matters. Study Delaware—for her educational program will bear study. See the scramble of story tellers and folklore

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hunters to get into the Tennessee mountains before education makes that rich and picturesque land a howling waste for them!

This summer I came into a Vermont town where a woman on the school board could neither read nor write. In Colorado 58 per cent of the children are without high school privileges in over 50 per cent of the area of the state. All of this and more is true. The battle has been won, but the victory has not yet been fully realized. Nevertheless, what has been done is like a miracle. Through the mud and snow one December night I crawled up to the tiny hamlet of Bluewater, New Mexico, huddled under the sage-brush on the very top of the Continental Divide. A Mormon family took me in. It had been a heart-breaking day, and it was as stark and wild a night as ever covered those high, bleak plains. I had come to the top of the world, and to the end of the world, but after the late supper the table was cleared and the little Mormon children brought out their books and began to bore into them for tomorrow's lessons. A motor coach would pick them up early in the morning to carry them miles across the sage and sand and snow to the public school—here on the crest of the continental watershed, millions of miles from Boston! But not so far away either.

There is plenty of doubt, seeing that this thing can't

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be done, as to whether it is feasible to try to do it. There is plenty of downright antagonism on the part of culturalists, industrialists, masses-haters, scribes and pharisees. But these are in the big minority. Education for everybody (even up to his sixteenth year) by compulsion when necessary, is as central in our American thought as the Mississippi River is central in our American landscape.

That statement is narrative and personal. Let me put it categorically on the authority of Professor George D. Strayer in *The Journal of the National Education Association* for February, 1928:

The most fundamental principle of educational administration is that which proposes that an acceptable minimum program of education shall be provided for all of the children of the state at a uniform effort throughout the state in terms of the burden of taxation. This principle of "the equalization of educational opportunity" has long been acknowledged. It has been made effective in practice, however, to a very limited degree. Greater progress was made during the past year in carrying this principle into effect than has been made in any previous period of ten years.

Researches in the field of state support were begun by the Educational Finance Inquiry Commission and have been continued since that time as a direct outcome of the

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work begun by this group. The most important contribution in this field, "The Measurement of Educational Need," has been followed by further investigations directed by the author of this study for the state of New York. Largely as a result of this work the last New York legislature advanced the equalization program to a point which calls for the distribution of more than eighty-two million dollars by the state next year, as compared with nine million dollars in 1919. The writer has undertaken similar investigations in Alabama, Florida, and in Pennsylvania. Students who have worked with him are conducting inquiries in Georgia, North Carolina, Connecticut, and New Jersey. Other investigators are making studies along similar lines in Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. It seems reasonable to suppose that within a period of the next ten years, this most significant development in the state support of education will have been carried forward in a majority of the states.

American education, I say, is for each of the people personally. No recent educational gain is greater than that which is involved in the individual attention given to the "young Joneses, Bill and Nell." A revolution in everything from teaching methods to school furniture is in rapid progress in order to invest Nell with her needed charms and Bill with his job, prescribed and foreordained from the foundation of the world.

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“As we examine the mass-product of our public schools,” asks the editor of *The Forum*, “what do we find? Instead of learning, literacy; instead of culture an enormously stimulated demand for chewing gum, cosmetics, and tabloid newspapers [there is a full-page cigarette advertisement in this particular issue of *The Forum*]; instead of educated men and women, capable of thinking for themselves, a flock of gullibles batten-
ing on the syndicated opinions of a decadent press. Surely we are the victims of a fetish; and as the spell dissolves, we wonder how we could have been so taken in. In spite of our almost superhuman efforts, Bill and Nellie Jones are far from educated, and at last we are questioning whether they ever can be.”

That sounds private schoolish, as if the editor might have been a master at Groton or somewhere, not in a public school. And how perennial! How characteristic of our educational criticism! And how far behind the times! Old Rip is eternally waking up and rubbing his eyes; but how long he sleeps! Certainly this editor does not consider himself the product of, nor in any way beholden to (I resort to this offensive combination as a way of swearing), the public schools.

Mass-products of our public schools? A class-consciousness-editorial straw man! There is much in education that can be done, and best done, *en masse*. There

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is too much herding, heaven knows, sheer lack of space, in schools; there is something of mass-production, something vicious, in the college lecture system (rapidly giving place to more personal methods); there are public schools a-plenty where the old machine methods still obtain, and ancient customs and sanctions having more lives than cats have; there are benighted teachers, ill-natured, ill-trained, ill-paid teachers, not everywhere, yet in altogether too many schools, public and private; but over against this everywhere are children liking to go to school because they have an individual good time in school. They are not massed, not generally herded, and handled as cattle or breakfast food in a factory. This entire chapter would not give me a chance to enumerate the individualizing processes, the ways and means employed in school today for liberating personality and spurring initiative. The public school is giving Bill and Nell room and verge and choice and chance, putting the highest of premiums upon originality. Go into any New Jersey school, or any California school, or any school between, and you are likely to see the child conducting the recitation. Emphasis upon individuality can hardly be stronger than that.

An acquaintance of mine in California had to send her little daughter, stricken with infantile paralysis, for a long siege to the hospital. The public school teacher

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followed her there and kept her moving happily along with her class at school. I personally know of another case (this also happens to be in California) of a backward child, who suffered in the class room from his size and years. The state left that child at home, where he was free from self-consciousness and misery, sending the teacher to him, instead of him to the teacher.

I do not say that this is a general, nation-wide practice, or that it will be by the end of 1928. I do say, however, that this is the general, nation-wide *doctrine*, preached in every great state and national teachers' convention, taught in every normal school and teachers' college, and in spirit practiced throughout the land.

Here let me speak of this joy in going to school as one of the greatest of gains in education, having to do with the general well-being and larger life of the people. Education has at last become a means of grace; learning a way of loving and rejoicing. Schools and colleges are avenues of pleasure, adding to the gayety of the nation. As a people we know how to play, but not how to be glad. "Much learning is a weariness to the flesh, and of the making of books there is no end," was a philosophy based upon the experience of going to school in the good old days of my time when learning was so largely through the epidermis.

Education does move. Here is the greatest institu-

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tion in our civilization devoted to the child as a child, to all of his intellectual, and to many of his physical, social, emotional and religious needs, from his years of five to sixteen, recognizing and providing for his need of joy and play and adventure by doing, as well as by learning.

Doing is not the least of our new gains. Bill Jones and his sister Nell are receiving more manual training and vocational guidance than children ever did before in American schools. Only about one out of every ten high school students goes on to college, but the nine who go directly to work go with much counsel and training to their occupations, and in many cases after completing courses of instruction bearing directly upon their work. It is the settled conviction of this country that the school is not the place to teach the manual arts and trades. The mill and shop are best for that; but the schools do clearly recognize the duty, among their manifold responsibilities, to stress the occupations, and to guide the students by courses with teachers trained in occupational science toward the proper choice of life work.

With this has come, no doubt, a slackening off in cultural studies. The fight for the humanities is far from won. The battle see-saws over the country both in secondary schools and colleges; but in that wide, co-

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educational section of the Middle West, where things American are being determined, the cultural studies still hold the balance of power. Even in the tremendous technical high school at Omaha the principal told me with deep satisfaction of the extent and quality of the history courses and other humanities which he had been able to work into the scientific and industrial program.

Indirectly, and under new names, the cultural influences, in spite of the showing made by Bill and Nell, are leavening the gross lump of school-going America. Take the training in oral composition, the staging and producing of plays, the debating, the free discussions in the class, the school papers, bands, orchestras, traffic corps and expeditions, the Boy and Girl Scouts, Hi-Y Clubs, 4-H Clubs—all making for mental and physical poise, community spirit, good manners, larger reading and finer feeling. A multitude of these things everywhere go forward specifically and persistently in the interests of the minor virtues and the graces the sum of which is culture. The physical director, the school doctor and dentist and nurse, the psychological and achievement measurements and tests—what is not done now in school to add health to knowledge and grace and happiness to life?

As proof of the astonishing advance in this depart-

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ment of public school education I should like to call attention to a "Report of the Development of Instruction in Music for the Pupils of the West Hartford Public Schools" of Connecticut, for September, 1927.

Says the Report:

Now, where shall music be found? Some of us can remember way back when music was not included in any school course of study. That was fifty years ago. Fortunately things have changed. As soon omit history from a course of study today as music, and woe to the superintendent who slights either. Both are elements contributing to a life of rich significance.

Men rarely realize the place music has achieved in the business of the world. I am told that today it takes third place among the professions. Had any boy or girl said fifty years ago that he or she had chosen music as a profession, that youth would have been a subject for paternal disquietude. As well expect to earn a living by fishing as by fiddling. Old King Cole might need his fiddlers three, but most communities could use but one, and it was a seasonal occupation even for the one.

Today there is a vast host earning money with their musical skill, in our great symphony orchestras, and many smaller orchestras in our show and picture houses, dinner orchestras, dance orchestras, radio orchestras; singers in theaters and churches, teachers of music, altogether thousands, more than the lawyers, than the doctors, the dentists, the school teachers. The apprentices

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for the practice of music are taught in our schools; and many step right out from school into very attractive places—attractive if only earnings are considered, but delightful, too, because here men may do what they like best to do.

For some reason music was not included among the fundamental skills. The honored trilogy is too sacred to be lightly profaned by a trivial subject. Born of good New England stock, reading, writing, and 'rithmetic were early accepted as worthy a position in good society; but what contribution could music make to the immortal three?

But note the change:

All children go to kindergarten. One of their principal activities is singing. They love it; and they learn many beautiful songs. They organize, too, their children's orchestras; to older people these little players give much pleasure, but for themselves, the performers, they are real orchestras and the source of unbounded joy. Through the first grade they sing along, gathering a large repertoire of lovely melodies, and gaining a real appreciation of sweet tones and swinging rhythm. And so into the second grade they come singing. By this time certain "pattern songs" are just as familiar as "The Little Red Hen" or "Mother Goose."

And so on through the high school they go singing up the grades.

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It is in this particular field of American education that most experimentation is at present going on, most uncertainty is felt, and out of which in the immediate future most advance will come. For example:

I have not named the Junior high school, the continuation, the part-time, the night, the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A. and other schools of recent origin designed to eke out the scanty chance of those who have to quit school early, to bridge that awkward gap from grammar grades to high school, and from high school to college. The usual four or five years of floundering between college and the graduate's real work is now getting the attention it demands. Nor is there room to make clear the relation of the measuring and testing (so often overdone) to the improvement in teaching methods, courses of study and grading in the schools. Many educators put the scientific measurements brought to bear upon education in the last few years as first among our recent advances.

Speaking of the effect of recent nation-wide research in the whole field of education, and specifically in school administration, as tested by this new scientific spirit and measurement, Professor Strayer says:

On the whole, the year 1927 must be considered one of the most fruitful in our history in the advancement of the program for the improvement of the administration

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of our public schools. The problems of support, of organization, of the classification and progress of children, of the development of curricula and of courses of study, and of the business management of schools have been attacked in a scientific spirit by competent workers. The results of these researches are already modifying our practices.

I could not survey the college field in this short chapter. If there is not a corresponding gain there—except a gain in numbers, still the Spirit of Change moves upon the face of the college waters—students spending the recitation hour quizzing the professor instead of being quizzed by him; professors actually trying to be interesting (as at Harvard) and being called to their chairs, for their *teaching* ability! Could there be more startling advance in any department of education than this?

The increasing numbers enrolled in college, in spite of popular opinion, represent a certain gain.

They are infinitely more than vulgar, representing a gross gain in intelligence, skill, and refinement. Some of us are afraid of extent, and numbers, and commonplaceness. College distinctly makes for less commonplaceness. Not long ago I attended as guest the second annual reunion of a recent college class, where every member present had to rise and tell what he was doing.

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The report was amazing for its variety, and even more thrilling for its importance and promise. Several of the girls had married (the college was co-educational), but the thrills didn't stop there. Not a single report was a blank, nor such as failed to justify the college course.

The American college is not ideal, but it is a good college for Americans. It is honestly trying to do what is required of it; and the thing required is the needed thing in America at the present time. It is producing scholars like John Livingston Lowes, scientists like Dr. Millikan, statesmen like Wilson, and the majority of our leaders in every field. But chiefly, as Professor Palmer has recently pointed out, it is producing business men and women with large cultural backgrounds and wide civic interests who are handling the enormous wealth of the country with imagination and feeling—building cities like Cleveland, acting as trustees for art, education, exploration, research, and conservation; serving the State, in short, with their college training, as in European countries the aristocracy has felt obliged to serve.

Nothing is more difficult to appraise than this indefinite, spiritual something we call education. To say the nation is spending two billions of dollars annually on it, or about one hundred dollars per child, is not to

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evaluate it, for even this puts only about one child in ten through the high school. The undertaking seems almost immeasurable. Yet we are trying to do it; and it can be done; and the hope of the nation is founded upon the doing of it. Trust in education is the head of the corner stone of our political faith. Educating the people is the country's chief concern. Government by education is no longer an experiment. So the State and the schools proceed—doing many things they should not do, of course, and getting much just, and much unjust, criticism; and leaving undone many things they ought to do. But I doubt if there is another two billion dollar enterprise on this continent that begins to be so well managed as the educational enterprise, out of which we get so much for our money, one in which there are making more rapid and substantial gains, or one on which so securely rests the safety of the State and the happiness of the people.

8. AMERICAN LITERATURE MOVES ON

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8. AMERICAN LITERATURE MOVES ON

by MARY AUSTIN

IT comes naturally to the reading public to think of literary gains as consisting wholly in new accessions of literary talent. And to conceive of such talent as a sort of divine accident, for which those to whom it happens must not be too much puffed up. The American public in particular is unfurnished, in respect to new pieces of literature, with criterions of evaluation of any more relevance to the background from which they spring, than is afforded to pictures and sculpture by the gray walls of the Museum in which they are exhibited. The public enjoys the show; they linger in the cosy corners of authority and the period alcoves provided for them by Mr. H. L. Mencken, Mr. Ellery Sedgwick, and Mr. Thomas B. Wells, savoring their own reactions, and largely unaware of their own part in the production either of what pleases or what offends.

For this the purveyors, and in some case the makers of literature, are as much to blame as the reading public, involved as they are in the naïve assumption that the final test of the relevance of any work of art, is the number of people who are similarly affected by it within concurrent levels of time. And yet, in nearly every case, it is the capacity—or lack of it—for appre-

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ciative response on the part of the public, which determines the values which shall thus be popularly acclaimed. Great poets, says Walt Whitman, require great audiences; and without an audience of his peers seldom does a writer come to the full measure of achievement. Any gain therefore of reading receptivity advances the whole literary level of the time in which it occurs. And such a gain has come upon the reading public in the United States within the past fifteen years as should raise the level of literary output for this and the succeeding generation.

It arose out of the events set in motion in 1914, bound in their natural course to interrupt throughout the world the spiritual poise and the art and culture which are the fruit of a given spiritual outlook. That the consequent rending of the spiritual fabric was less devastating in the United States than elsewhere, especially in the inception of the Great War, only afforded the more room for the ensuing reaction on the reading public, which was, naturally enough, an enlarged and sharply pointed interest in the political and cultural history of our western world.

It is characteristic of great social ground swells such as culminated in the war storm, that they are indicated in advance by alterations in the current forms of art expression. Human society retains much of that ca-

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capacity for anticipating changes in the spiritual weather, which we note so interestedly in the societies of other animals in respect to alterations of humidity, heat and atmospheric pressure. But with us such fore-feelings are so rationalized in line with contemporaneous thought that their function as social auguries is overlooked.

Thus it was in the United States that the haurispices of social change, the free versifiers, the imagists, vorticists, expressionists, modernists of all degrees, which in the pre-war decade swarmed in all the representative arts, took to themselves the doctrinaire assumptions of all social thinking in those pre-war decades. They *were*, as they loudly declared, *the* revolution. But the times were not deceived. Before the paper and canvas to which they committed their affirmations had taken the tone of time, self-styled revolutionists were swept by the revolution *de facto* into the category of symptoms. The true revolution began with a tremendous back-spin toward the source of opinion, directed by our sharpening perception of the fatality of all opinion whether called radical or no, because of its being, all of it, too shallowly derived to withstand the shock of social cataclysm. Here at home the part that was played in the Great War by political factors of which we had but vaguely heard, the part that was played by science,

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and by the ignorance of science, all combined to create in the American mind the impression that remedial aid to war and war prevention called, first of all, for knowledge and more knowledge. It called, immediately, for knowledge set in order, decoded, simplified; knowledge in handy packages for individual consumption. All of which has been promptly and, for the most part, adequately met by the sudden flood of Outlines and Stories of this and the other department of human learning, avidly absorbed into the general reading receptivity.

Foremost then, of recent literary gains in the United States, we must rank the better-informed and broadened attitude of the reading public. But even this information, this enlarged vocabulary, this accessibility to larger concepts, which has resulted from the new type of popular reading, is the lesser gain when compared to the resulting ease with which our public arrives at a sense of authority in opinion.

Deriving from the earlier democratic assumption that since one man's vote is as good as another's, his opinion has an equal excuse for being heard, there has been an attitude on the part of the general reader toward the writer speaking with authority, which, more or less unconsciously, puts him through all the traditional paces of the office seeker purveying votes. Such

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a writer must not only please at the outset, assuming all the responsibilities of establishing the necessary rapport. He must compliment all the intellectual prepossessions to which the reader is married, pat all his little prejudices on the head, and otherwise put up a good performance; make, as the earlier republican critics used to say, a "commendable effort," on the success of which his right to speak is judged. One does not go so far as to say that this hundred-year-old handicap of the thoughtful writer is completely done away. But the very sincerity of intention on the part of the general reader, the individual desire to get "the correct dope" on the intellectual situation, has of itself created natural recognition of authenticity. These leave the American writer freer than he has ever been before to devote himself to the explication of his subject, with a singleness of purpose indispensable to great writing.

The gain in this direction has been not only to the general writer, purveying ideas, but to the writer presenting the groundwork of attested information upon which new ideas are predicated. The presentation of scholarly ideas in Western civilization has always been characterized by traits rather directly related to the priestly origination of learning in the Western world. It has been characterized by a hieratic quality, pre-

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ciosity of terms, ritual of citation, formalities of exegesis, which render it nearly unintelligible to the layman. And in presentation to the masses it has been debased by the popular appetite for a kind of intellectual hokum to which all hieratic groups have more or less succumbed. If there is anything more depressing to read than a scientific book written in the Victorian method of citation and exegesis, it is a book written by an Academic Scientist trying at the same time to play barker to his own wares, or a book by a college professor presenting his theme in what he fondly believes to be the perfect Rotarian manner. There has been more than enough of this sort of thing in the doubtful field of what does not any longer call itself theology and cannot persuade the thoughtful to call it scientific philosophy; but along with it there has been a steady and discriminating demand for Truth, no longer dressed up in cap and gown, but not necessarily tricked out in cap and bells. It is this demand on the part of the thoughtful reader for the humanization of knowledge which has released the writer from the lengthening chain of traditional scholarly presentation.

The movement to free exact thinking from traditionalism in expression, here in the United States, has made visible inroads on a literary form much more in use among English writers of established reputation

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than among us. I refer to the type of fiction of which Mr. H. G. Wells is the outstanding English example, as Upton Sinclair is in America. This is the treatise-novel, the novel in which characters are created and a story developed—more or less developed, since the inevitable tendency of the treatise-novel is to scamp the story element—for the sole purpose of amplifying the writer's opinions. In the United States the treatise part of such a novel has been more often occupied with moral than with sociological opinions, without being any the less an anomaly in literary expression. One must distinguish here between the treatise-novel and what is usually referred to as a propagandist novel, of which our own "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is the perpetual high mark.

Any novel is primarily a showing of life as it is being lived. Whatever honest convictions the novelist comes to in the course of his study of life, whether that slavery is equally debasing to slave and owner, that the criminal is more in need of understanding than punishment, or that the Protestant ministry may easily constitute a denial of Protestant Christianity, he is bound to set down, subject only to the limitations of the novel as an art form. This obligation to set down honestly what the lamp of his literary equipment discloses, and the equal obligation to literary form, which

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is the mode of display, there is no escaping. But when the novel form, instead of being entered into, is seized upon for the mere conveyance of opinion, opinion about prohibition, about psychoanalysis or endrocrinology, about the current strike or the latest electrical speculation, there ensues a debasement of art form. Nothing more hopeful could be said, at the moment, than that the American novelist has on the whole refused to accept as necessary the subversion of the novel form to the mere purveying of opinion. Even though such a refusal involves, as cannot be denied, a suspension of novel-writing activity until a new fictional pattern can be crystallized out of the creative impulse still somewhat confused by the impact of the war and its social upsettings. That the novel has here at home escaped the pitfalls of the treatise-form, as it has not yet in England, is, I think, largely due to the rise here of a new manner of thoughtful writing. In this new manner, as illustrated in the humanization of science, a medium for the legitimate expression of opinion as it is being shaped from moment to moment, yet never outside the illuminated circle of authentic scholarship, has become so acceptable to our reading public that it is no longer necessary to impress our fiction into the labor of carrying it.

This happy escape of the novel, which for several

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years past has seemed at the last gasp of profitable use, has not yet resulted in any sharply characterized new variation of fictional type. Nothing at least that can be called distinctively American. It is possible that there will never again be any recognizable national novel-form in English. All the life processes, the world over, such as are legitimately to be displayed in novels, draw too much to a sameness; the approaches, the goals, the tempo of individual crises, are all spaced on rhythms universally rather than nationally determined. It is in the short-story, the story of incident and activity whose wave length is derived from the hour, the background, the individual drive, that local characterization can be traced.

Along in the eighteen nineties there developed in the United States a type of story conditioned first of all by the content of the general consciousness of the reading public, and almost equally by the commercial demand of advertisers for the sort of "reading matter" next to which their advertisements could be placed. At that time pronounced differentiations of local color and social inheritance in a country not yet threaded together by the busy automobile, required of the American reader that he enter with sympathetic imagination into as many fictional milieus as there were regional cultures within these forty-eight States. This was a reach

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of reading receptivity of which no European public was, or is yet, capable. In England, still provincially put out by demands upon its attention from cultures and backgrounds other than its own, it is no uncommon thing to hear otherwise intelligent readers say that they like the American magazines for their advertisements, but that they cannot "go" the fiction. That the reading public here at home has managed to compass acceptably backgrounds and social inheritances so widely dissimilar as East Side New York, Southern Negro, Gopher Prairie and Woolly West, is perhaps one of the most commendatory things that can be said of the American experiment as a whole. But the necessity, on the part of the writer, of so displaying the unfamiliar life-mode as to make it acceptable to the insufficiently limbered mind of the Europeanly-derived American reader, and at the same time to keep the story close to the interest of the sort of people who were expected to read the contiguous advertisements, though so gallantly attempted and so often brilliantly achieved, has had an unfortunate effect upon the short story as a literary medium. It has the effect inevitable whenever an art form is utilized for other than the sincere showing of life, subtly corroded as a cup meant to hold clear water, by a mordant reagent. The long short story of twenty years ago now seldom attracts the best story

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talent. Were it not that the web of American life has tautened in the past decade to admit of a type of story which no longer suffers the necessity of being carefully plotted on a culture map of the locality in which the story occurs, we should have to chronicle a loss of story power.

Already there is growing up, along the more sophisticated levels of our common life, a perception of essential social unity against which it is possible for a few writers as far removed in origins as are Zona Gale, Sherwood Anderson and Thomas Beer, to pose their stories as cleanly as the Tuscan painters did their portraits on backgrounds of pure gold. This is a qualitative gain, more significant of the gain in spiritual integration of the American people than as a prophecy of literary form. This type of epitomized short story, in which the sustaining web is not woven by the writer's hand but exists somewhere in the group consciousness, has characterized every age and literary language. That it is with us an emergent type rather than a borrowed form, is suggested by its use among writers of the younger generation whose work is not yet completely stylized.

For the present the menace of premature stylization of literary form has passed us by. In the last century that dreary necessity which dogs the footsteps of the

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English-speaking, of taking up a moral attitude on every issue of life whether or not it has moral implications, did succeed in stylizing the literary approach by limiting the selection of material properly to be treated in fiction. A reasonable explanation of how any novel or story which controverts an earlier ideal of what American life should be finally came to be thought of as deserving suppression, would be too involved for this paper. That such a conviction did become part of the great American consciousness, cannot be denied. And such a conviction enforced upon editors and publishers by the reading public, and by them upon the authors, did for a long time constitute one of the hazards of the literary life. But the immense popular success of those writers today, who, like Theodore Dreiser, H. L. Mencken, and Sinclair Lewis, address themselves deliberately to more or less ribald criticism of American life, points to an enormously increased capacity of the American reading public for taking itself with considerable salt.

This is not to say that these novelists do not run the same danger of corrupting the novel form by using it as the too frequent vessel of acid indignation, as the older writers did by excessive moralization, or as Mr. Wells does today by congealing the content of the cup with cold-storage talk. The point I wish to make is

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that American novelists, as a whole, keep well up to their obligation, when they charge a novel with opinion about the state of American society, of showing that society functioning, however undesirably. American readers acknowledge the truth of the showing by buying their books by the hundred thousand. Capitalists may sputter at finding themselves bespattered with Oil by Mr. Sinclair. Preachers may grow vociferous against Mr. Lewis, and moralists revolt—being too wearied to do more—after five hundred pages of the tragedies of Mr. Dreiser. But loud over all these comes the cheerful patter of the rubber stamps of librarians checking out the books of these authors to a reading public willing to face the worst about itself even when least flatteringly stated.

If the limits of this article permitted, I should like to explain why, even when admitting its objectionableness, I find the cold lewdness and sputtering vulgarity of novels and plays of the past year or two a considerable advance over the saprophytic impudicity of the Freudian era of American fiction. Lewd and vulgar as even such outstanding writers as Eugene O'Neill and Sinclair Lewis are occasionally, it is still a vulgarity as natural as sweat, and a lewdness as unabashed as the things little boys chalk up on barn doors. It has no kinship with the slinking salacity which, slightly dis-

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guised as romantic fiction, shouts to our youth from every newsstand, "Come and Take Me." Incredible as it seems, it was still possible in the prudish nineties for a man who specialized in sentimentalized lechery to be elected a member of the American Academy, which could scarcely happen in our day. So far as our reputedly "frank" fiction goes, one nail drives out another at last.

Of all the indices of literary increase, the one most neglected by the reading public is poetry, for though the reading public does not wholly neglect the poets it is seldom judicial about them. In this it is probably right, so far as poetry is concerned with the literary expression of emotional experience. To the people who find complete and satisfying expression of such emotional experience as they are capable of in the poetry of Eddie Guest, Mr. Guest is a great poet, and Carl Sandburg merely another barbaric yawper like that fellow Whitman. But poetry in any period, besides expressing concurrent emotional experience, is the most sensitive of mediums for recording the curve of deep-seated spiritual perception, determining the things that the poets of the oncoming generation are likely to be emotional about.

As the earliest of literary gifts to develop, more fluent than music and more widely distributed as a gift

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than painting, poetry outruns intellectual expression; it shifts subtly in advance of every admitted point of view and modulates in every changing spiritual key. Alterations of poetic form are found anticipating periods of social reformation, new rhythms, new inventions in stanzaic form, new theories of poetics, new exegesis of old ones, as any one who experienced the virulence of poetic revolt just preceding the late war will recall. The great eras of creative adventure, Attic, Italian, Elizabethan, have all been marked by high energization of the poetizing tendency and by the use of poetry for the outstanding types of literary achievement. Likewise periods of low spiritual voltage are chiefly distinguished by the debasement of poetic form to convey moral platitudes, sentimental proverbial philosophy and individual rather than social rancors.

To the average reader, recalling the mortal intensity of free-versifiers, imagists, and other mavericks of the Pierian breed of ten or a dozen years ago, little seems left but the memory of an amazing, often amusing, ephemeral revolt. It is no uncommon thing to hear it remarked that "this free verse craze seems to have died down," and not until he is faced with examples from his own current reading does the commentator reluctantly admit that all that has died is the resistance on the part of the reading public, to variations

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of established poetic form. Very little that the average reader sees conforms either in sound or rhythmic or stanzaic pattern to the preferred versification of his own undergraduate days. What would astonish him more is that an undergraduate interest in poetry is no longer merely to be excused on the ground of immaturity of intellect. Not only is an interest in poetry as a current medium of expression now admitted as a subject of academic concern, but courses of study in poetics have become a matter of academic emulation.

We are perhaps too close to the first line of poets who have established their right to vary from the classic models, poets such as Sandburg, "H. D.," Lindsay, Max Bodenheim, and the younger line, among whom James Rorty and Robinson Jeffers prick compellingly upon the attention, to insist that any of these are also poets of the first rank. What we can feel sure of is that, should a great American poet appear, he would find ready to his hand a medium freed from the trammels of classicism, but also freed from the obsessions of the revolt against classic tradition. Nowadays the poet may cut his lines any way that best helps his meaning. He may rhyme or not rhyme, or rhyme in a fashion that knows no law but his own poetic necessity. He may take his rhythms from any of the current rhythmic sources, his verse may have as many

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feet as a caterpillar tractor, and it is only in the particular poet, by the eccentricity of dispensing with punctuation or doing violence to syntax, that the reader is unpleasantly reminded that the revolt has taken place.

It is true that all the old, hand-polished forms and the time-worn themes of poetry are still current among us; but along the forward edge of poetic enterprise the shift of thematic interest to matters arising naturally out of our common American life, is conspicuous: "Hog Butcher of the World," "The Death of the Hired Man," and the Salvation Army. The working poets as well as the working novelists are equally accommodated with material here at home. Already this native material begins to flow from their hands in suggestions of organic patterning.

Not that the new poetry has emerged in verse forms that have anything remotely resembling the fine, flower-like fixity of the sonnet, the chant royal or the Elizabethan lyric. Nothing could be so unpromising for the poetry of the future as a too rapid crystallization of the present practice. What does seem to be emerging, however, is a new poetic mode, not shaped by the old processes of assimilating one thing to another either by likenesses or unalike-nesses, but by juxtapositions, one thing or one idea so placed against another

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as to form, as Browning said of the harmonic chord, "not a third sound, but a star." A simpler way of saying it perhaps, is that the ideas in a modern poem tend to arrange themselves primitively, so as to mean something other than any one of them means by itself. As if an early American should draw an outline of the human countenance, upon which is superimposed the picture sign for water, and at the back of the human figure two or three others hunting buffalo, and enclose the lot with a circular line to indicate that what he really meant to say is "My face is wet, remembering other years," the whole to be called the Song of an Old Man. One can often catch poets as far apart as Robert Frost and Carl Sandburg doing just that thing and succeeding at it.

If I have stressed this suggestion of new pattern emergence in American poetry, it is because something of this sort seems to the writer to be more or less, and probably entirely unconsciously, influencing the mode of all our most vital literature. One cannot suppose, for instance, that Sherwood Anderson and Theodore Dreiser are occupied with the befogged and stodgy lower levels of American life for the mere pleasure of slogging through with it. Or that Sinclair Lewis is interested in Arrowsmith or Elmer Gan-

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try for their own sakes; or that Willa Cather has an excessive personal predilection either for Roman Catholic Archbishops or Lost Ladies. Are not all of these attempting so to arrange these simple figures in the hieroglyph of our common life that they may make to appear, if not Browning's star, at least a key word to the great American puzzle, the riddle of modern life? However often a best seller falls out when any of these authors shakes the dice of literary endeavor, we cannot suppose of any of them that producing best sellers is their set purpose. It is at any rate clear that they have left to Mr. Wells and Mr. Bernard Shaw the business of trying to make a particular pattern come forth out of muddled individual living. Which seems to make it all the clearer that what our own novelists really hope is that by the truest possible placing of essential figures in American life, some sort of essential rightness in human relations may yet be made to shine out with more than terrestrial illumination. In which hope it is happily augured that the American reading public is profoundly implicated.

9. NEW INFLUENCES IN ART

Rockwell Kent has exhibited widely in the United States, South America, and Europe; member, New Society of Artists and International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Engravers; author, WILDERNESS, VOYAGING; leader of independent artists in their campaign for liberalization of National Academy of Design.

9. NEW INFLUENCES IN ART

by ROCKWELL KENT

IF, in looking back over our three centuries in America, we could discover anywhere an art of spontaneous origin, an art born of the pioneer in expression of himself, his time and his environment, we should find, probably, from so indigenous an origin, a continuous development of that art as an accompaniment and expression of the evolution of American culture and character, and we should have today a national art at once splendid with integrity, and eloquent, to our own satisfaction, of what our native character and genius are.

Assuming the New England settlers to have been exclusively a growing army of cod-fishermen and divines, we should have had a primitive architecture, to begin with, woodenly reminiscent of English stone, but rapidly yielding under the stress of necessity and common sense to such pure wooden forms as the material, the tools, the use, demanded and allowed. The "Dauber" of that primitive society, emerging out of no cultural background, untaught and even without memory of art, must crudely have painted either life and the wilderness as he beheld it or, of these same

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elements plus his Bible, Paradise as in his loneliness he yearned for it.

But the settlers of New England were not only fishermen of men and cod. Carpenters there were, men schooled in the tradition of their craft to a degree and precision that is unknown now; and under their hands were reared in the wilderness of the New World wooden adaptations of the refined architecture of renaissance England. And painters came, not with the pioneers—religious prejudice forbade—but on their heels, as rumors maybe came to them of wealth and jobs; journeymen, artists, unskilled enough as European standards stood, but trained. The “English School” spread to America; it took and stayed. That school became American Art.

Definition is essential to discussion. To reach any conclusion about American progress and achievement in art it is important to come to an understanding of the term. That, for our immediate purpose, may be done by considering what we may call the *intention* of art—whether it be the absolute in an esthetic sense or the relative in a personal sense; whether, in considering progress in art, we mean progress towards an ideal of absolute esthetic perfection or towards one of personal, racial, or national integrity and authenticity of expression. Deliberately to avoid a discussion of these

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alternatives we choose the second, and pursue our subject as an enquiry into whether and how America has achieved distinctive expression in art.

It was, perhaps, unfortunate—as affecting our subsequent cultural development—that the settlement of America occurred at so late a period in history that the arts of ship building and navigation were already adequate to the maintenance of constant communication with the mother-country. Not only did the artist come here trained in the traditions of the Royal Academy but England remained so easily accessible to the succeeding generations of painters that for two centuries the “English School” and the “American School” were identical, not only in their intention but, practically, in the general quality of their achievement; and in becoming thus accustomed to the acceptance of English tradition, we merely prepared ourselves for the eventual inclusion of Germany and France and old-world art in general as in an absolute sense the art to be revered and followed. Art came to be, as to our vast majority it is today, an exclusive achievement of the old world in the creation of absolute and unrelated beauty.

With art as such a quantity we are not here concerned; and if we dismiss from our consideration of American art not only our native English painters but

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every subsequent imported school of art, except as individuals may somehow have transcended them, we merely clarify and narrow our discussion towards its essential point.

The late Professor Ware used to say to us students of architecture, "Design your buildings first and look at your authorities afterwards." That is a fine, brave, dangerous principle for life and art. If out of the conditions of life in America, out of the traditions of our national existence, out of the alloyed metal of the American character there has or shall appear an art ungraced and unencumbered by the formulae of authority, an art deriving its intention and its form, its being, from this native soil and life, we may recognize it as transcending in significance to us all art however beautiful that's less our own. However absolute may be these principles upon which art, like the universe, is built, its poignancy is derived from its creator's own most personal and intimate experience of life. And by its kinship to us we'll be moved by it and love it.

That such personal expression of the emotional experience of beauty is the first impulse of every artist is not to be doubted. That art may thrive and generations pass and no one be revealed who has held to that is due to the incredible rule of tradition as it is imposed by schools of art, by critics and by conserva-

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tive public taste enforced through the artist's own necessity to live.

European culture was our heritage. It has been maintained by fashion and by all the agencies that dictate, follow, pander to fashion: the dealer for profit, the decorator, the architect from unintelligence, the rich for ostentation. Beginning when imported luxury appeared a splendid thing, the foreign product has been consistently exalted by all the cultural forces of our society, by the prestige of collectors, the propaganda of museums, and the example of the whole rich class that could afford to buy it and the cultured traveled class that knew how to talk about it. It is small wonder that we have produced in art so little to call ours.

If the founding, early in the nineteenth century, of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts displayed a growing public interest in art and an awakening to the need of facilities for its study, it did nothing towards freeing American art from the parent art of England. It established the classic ideal, intrenched it behind the safeguard of incorporated policy and sustained it by endowment. And with the National Academy of Design, formed in secession from the New York Academy, was begun the strongest and most reactionary opposition that the development in America

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of any individual or national ideal has encountered. That eventually the English influence was succeeded by the French and that in turn by the school of Munich, that these innovations were dignified by secession and graced again by reconciliation in no way affects the clearly defined issue: the classic ideal against the individual ideal. And that the National Academy stands today shorn of its dignity, forlorn, discredited, is evidence of the defeat of an outworn ideal by the rampant individualism of now.

It is in the revolt of the individual against the tyranny of every dogma, that wild revolt which for a generation has been gathering strength, that has cultivated irreverence and made a boast of it, that has offended taste and shattered standards, that has burst the confines of tradition and poured down every avenue and back alley of expression, it is by that revolt and from that freedom to perform in art what one desires to or can that we may have at last an art as free and beautiful as all the joys and sorrows of our land shall need for their fulfillment. Art missed the early beauties and tragedies, the sordidness, the hope, the agony or what it was of settling, struggling here to live; it missed three centuries of war and peace, of fervent life, of faith, of intolerance; it missed the virgin forests of New

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England, the flooded bottom lands of the great valleys, the Five Nations, slavery, the pageant of Saratoga.

Three centuries have passed; out of our fair and frail experiment in freedom has grown a nation richer and more powerful than a hundred Romes, and while ideals have undergone a transmutation into law and laws have come to serve their master, capital, art that was once apart, a refuge, a sanctuary of unreality against, we may suppose, the austere facts of freedom, or an escape into non-existence from the repressions of the godly life, art, now that liberty is gone, is free. It is free in an iron age to proclaim the might, magnificence and power of commerce, industry, wealth, war, of wild extravagance, of repression, of drunkenness, of fervent faithfulness; and it is free to hate all this—to find no beauty anywhere but in the intimate and most secret realities of the human spirit and in the way of life that may evoke them; and against the brazen clamor of jazz there may be heard as from remote, deep, starlit, inner spaces of man's being dissonances frail and infinitely poignant. That may be modern art.

10. RECENT ADVANCES IN SCIENCE

David Starr Jordan is president-emeritus, Leland Stanford University; formerly president, American Association for the Advancement of Science; formerly president, California Academy of Science; formerly president, National Education Association; author of 45 volumes on miscellaneous subjects.

10. RECENT ADVANCES IN SCIENCE

by DAVID STARR JORDAN

IN discussing the advance of science for the last thirty years I find it necessary to draw certain distinctions between "pure science" as an advance in human knowledge, and "applied science," which deals with the adaptation of such knowledge to the service or perhaps to the whims of civilized humanity. For the same period may show an abatement in the growth of knowledge with a marked advance in applications and in mechanical skill. In the last thirty years, this condition has existed in fact. The current distinction between pure and applied science is doubly inappropriate, for invention is a product of science and never altogether separable from it. Applied science, or knowledge in action, is, of necessity, subsequent to "pure science," a name which seems to imply that knowledge devoted to the service of humanity becomes somehow "impure." When knowledge is used to the injury of humanity ("prostituted" as the phrase is) it becomes really impure, though the devotees of the God of War have rarely accepted this definition.

In the present period civilization has devoted itself mainly to conflict ("wars actual" and "wars frustrate"). Science thrives only in fair weather. The in-

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ternational storms from which the civilized world is now slowly recovering are most unfavorable to its development, such struggles being mostly undemocratic, and of all conditions the most antagonistic to intellectual progress.

The two great functions of science are the broadening of the human mind, its release from the tyrannies of ignorance and of self-constituted authority. Hence arises the second great function, the use of all knowledge needed for human health and efficiency and for all phases of the great art of the conduct of life.

In the field of human sanitation are many of our greatest discoveries, especially in recent times. Naturally man is very much interested in all that makes his life happier or more enduring. This progress of sanitary knowledge advances by leaps and bounds and its art keeps step with it. Likewise also, its sham substitutes swell in volume and in impudence in proportion to its actual success.

Invention, a chief activity of our age and country, is an extension of applied science, and through special demands, as I have already said, it may flourish and expand, even when science itself is failing. Invention is an especial feature of a motor nation and it is in a large degree stimulated in busy times. The progress of invention springs from scientific activities in the

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past. Aviation, to some degree, and parts of chemistry have been tainted at birth by their relation to the pursuit of collective manslaughter. The advance of medicine, and the science on which its progress depends, is one of the most striking features of the modern era. This progress is along several different lines, among the most prominent being the relation of bacteria to disease, the discovery of filterable virus, made up of organisms too small to be seen through our best microscopes, too small to be caught in any filter, yet extremely potent in the destruction of tissue in animals or man; the extension of surgical skill through anatomical knowledge, the application of antiseptic methods, the discovery of insulin and that of vitamins and hormones, with the function of the ductless glands. To this we may add the formation of serums which smother the disease germs and the vaccines which weaken them.

Another feature of modern advance in knowledge and skill is the ingenuity displayed by the charlatan in going far beyond the facts in the preparation of alleged cures. At the same time, the more useful medical knowledge becomes, the more active and aggressive become its opponents, who in systematized ignorance deny all its discoveries and decry all its achievements. Such conditions have existed throughout the long history of every science. At present, however, the contrast be-

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tween knowledge and guessing seems greater, as the World War has lifted the lid from action of every form. The inferiority complex no longer holds, and absurdities of all kinds now dance in the public eye, freely and unashamed.

In the present paper I shall not venture to discuss the various phases of invention. Its great expansion is very recent, and only the Patent Office records could enumerate the myriad ways in which it has entered into our own common life. Just fifty years ago the present writer was a member of a committee which examined the Bell telephone at Washington. Stretching a wire from the fourth story of a Smithsonian tower to the basement, we were amazed to find that we could speak from one end of the wire to be heard at the other. Since then, seated here in my room in California, I have given over the telephone an address to the Quill Club in New York without losing a word. At Washington in 1877 I had occasion to test the first typewriter. Twenty years later (1897) I went up Mount Hamilton on the first automobile in California to find out whether this uncanny vehicle could be made to run up hill. Some years later the Marconi wireless telegraphy and the still more remarkable though less fortunate Poulsen system rose to the world's notice, soon followed hard by the amazing operations called

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radio, which puts the whole world into talking distance of whoever can command a listener.

Invention is rapidly invading every field of human activity, saving time everywhere and at the same time involving new expenses. As a messenger of goodwill the aeroplane is outgrowing the lugubrious memory of its first services in war. I now look on a dirigible balloon with feelings very different from those I experienced when I saw the first Zeppelin rise in Lorraine in 1913. As a whole, "applied science," especially the progress of invention in the last fifty years, has been amazingly rapid and varied, and this especially in regard to aviation and transportation in general and to applications of electricity. In the fields of sanitation and sanitative engineering enormous progress has been made, lengthening the average expectation of human life in civilized conditions from about thirty-six years to over fifty. But invention is not science, but rather a child of the science of an earlier generation.

The interference of war with scientific advance has several phases. First, and in the long run the most important, is the death in battle or through mental distress of many of those who should be the ablest exponents of science. Most notable of these, perhaps, was Professor Moseley of Cambridge, regarded by many of his colleagues as the most gifted student of physics

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who has ever lived. The record of the war losses of the British universities contains the names of many scholars of the first rank. Among the younger dons or assistant professors whom I knew personally in England and Scotland in 1913, the death roll was very long. In Germany, France and Belgium, conditions were the same. A man of science can give his life to his country most surely by living, and by leaving successors of his own type. The death of Moseley at the Dardanelles in the ill-planned attack on the Turkish forts served no rational purpose of England. The group of virile and scholarly young men, called by Stead "the picked half million," has been decimated and largely destroyed. In human heredity as well as in every other form of life, "like the seed is the harvest," and the essential thing in keeping up the strength of the nation is that it should not destroy its best representatives.

Next to the actual loss of scientific workers comes the loss of means by which research can be continued. Those who lead at any time must stand on the shoulders of their predecessors. To this end, in any field, great libraries are a necessity, and these libraries must be kept up to date. To this end money is necessary, and almost everywhere in Continental Europe all the national earnings were flung into the open abyss of war, towards which all nations have been and still are

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racing on "la course vers l'abîme." In few countries has it been possible to maintain the efficiency of libraries, and in all, America included, the means of publication of results of serious research have been greatly diminished. In America individuals have made great gifts to remedy some of these conditions, and many more are expected soon, especially as regards sanitation and exploration, but the scientific work of national bureaus has been checked and their means of publication sadly limited.

Science again suffers from the disillusionment inseparable from the aftermath of war. In casting away everything in the pursuit of victory, which at the end proves useless as compared with the cost, human values of all kinds suffer depreciation. Men ask: "Is it worth while?" A distinguished professor of the University of Munich writes me: "I shall probably never undertake any more scientific work." Others, still more hopeless, have died of desolation and despair.

To devote one's life to science is to take a vow of poverty. Its reward is found in itself, and the joy of working is enhanced by the help it gives to the generations which follow. In other regards, it must be admitted, conditions the world over are slowly but certainly improving, but it is true that a whole generation of science has been sacrificed in a purposeless conflict.

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One result, temporary, let us hope, of present conditions appears in the desire even on the part of real investigators to "speed up research." Many insist that we waste too much time hunting for truth; let us get at it more quickly. It is now seriously urged that we should let go the "toe-hold on knowledge" gained by difficult observation and tedious experiment, turning to quick intuition and inspiring imagination.

It has been said of Dr. William Crookes of England, "The fiery imagination of the discoverer of electrons would not be stayed by the balance and the burette." More explicitly Dr. Harry Roberts of London finds in medicine that "among the ultra-moderns a feeling is spreading that this thing (laboratory research) is at the best a little Victorian and old-fashioned, and that truth could be captured by less laborious and more dashing methods. Guessing is coming into fashion."

That like conditions obtain in several branches of knowledge is undoubtedly true, and the deductions to which guessing, assumed as truth, gives rise, form some of the most formidable obstacles to scientific research. For example, many writers, even men of repute in science, speak of abiogenesis or spontaneous generation as though, being a logical necessity, it is a proved fact, although nothing of the kind has been shown by actual experiment. But there can be no logical neces-

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sity in biology until all elements of the case are determined and in our possession. There yawns an immense gulf between what may be or ought to be, and that which we have found out to be actual fact. Science may be occasionally advanced by such fortunate guesses as "working hypotheses," but unless supported afterwards by rigid methods of comparison, the deductions of logic, intuition, and imagination do not last long in science and are seldom imbedded in its fabric. But last, all obstructions, of whatever character, must be cleared away.

The haste in securing results has been a factor in recent efforts to elevate or reduce one science to the rank of a branch of some other. Thus it is sometimes said that "Biology is only a branch of chemistry," and again that "Chemistry is a form of applied algebra." But our actual knowledge of chemistry is entirely due to observation and experiment, with inductions more or less substantiated, based on this knowledge.

From algebra chemistry derives very little, except in so far as it enables us to test the value of our conclusions, and the degree to which the assumptions involved in them are consistent with more stable inductions. Biology is more than a branch of chemistry, as its laws and qualities depend on organization, not on chemical composition, still less on algebraic formulae. Within

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certain limits organs may vary in chemical composition; the essential features of cells, tissues, structures, germs or gens depend on the organization or adjustment of component parts. In algebra, the art of dealing with quantities, it is assumed that all its units are of like character and of equal value; two times two are four and forever so, whatever the units chosen may be. In biology no two units can be of exactly the same character in substance or in composition. Two times two organisms need not be four units of life; a whale, a mouse, an elephant and a butterfly do not constitute four organisms, at least not in any useful non-mathematical sense of the term. Arguments unrelated to fact, concerning organic nature, are mere analogies, and most forms of false reasoning about living beings rest on analogies which have no relation to actual truth.

The use of mathematics in biology is as a rule a shortcut to conclusions. It may, even in economics, be based on averages which do not exist in nature, for nature knows no average. A statistic average rests on records of cases we know. The discoveries of astronomy are recorded by every observatory. The simplest of sciences, from its scarcely broken regularity, would be the easiest were it not for the great size of its units and their almost infinite distance from which we of the earth are permitted to gaze at them. It is worth noting that the

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knowledge of the universe is conditioned on our invention of a simple chemical substance, through which light (whatever that may be) may pass unobstructed, or by which, at our will, it may be reflected or refracted. On the qualities of glass depends almost entirely our knowledge of astronomy and the same condition controls all our knowledge of the incredibly small as well as of the unfathomed universe in which all objects we know of have their existence. The advance of science in the last quarter century has apparently been greatest in physics and largely in the direction of the impalpably small.

The atom was once the indivisible unit of matter, as its Greek name ("not to be cut") signifies. But now it is as easy to divide as the molecule, for the latter is conceived as a sort of solar system made up of the lively though almost intangible electrons, these awaiting their turn in time for further division. The electron is for the present a center of incitement to research, though the nature of light, the existence and nature (if it has any) of the ether have followed it closely, while in some quarters the very existence of matter has been questioned. In this regard we must all admit that something bearing a close resemblance to matter is within the reach of all.

Along these lines, as well as in the study of the

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(almost) infinitely great, science has advanced by leaps and bounds. But it is not the way in which science most securely travels. In many respects we are still to wait for final adjustment of the knowledge we seem to have secured. In the last analysis, fancy must be squeezed out before we stand on the solid ground occupied in less luminous times by men like Faraday, Lyell and Darwin. As to results reached at last in the final assessment of relativity, electricity, optics and dynamics, no one can yet say, least of all the present writer, who perforce takes every discovery in astronomy, physics, chemistry or even bacteriology at its face value. He can, however, question whether algebra, with its amazing ramifications, is itself a science, but rather science's most ambitious tool. It is most important in determining the range and meaning of assumptions of reality on which its equations and divinations rest, but incapable of adding to the human stock of realities, though helping us in fancy at least, to understand the nature of such figments as the fourth dimension of matter.

In biology discoveries are mainly of two types. The one consists of the development of broad generalizations on the basis of facts long known but not properly correlated. Such a discovery was that of the "physical basis of heredity," as embodied in the units

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(chromosomes) which seem to carry over all inherited traits. Another discovery of similar type is known as Mendelism. One feature of this is the recognition of distinct units of inheritance or gens, within each reproductive cell. The great work of Darwin on the transmutation of species in a changing but orderly world consists of a series of similar discoveries or theories which revise all our studies of men, animals or plants. In every field the light of the past streams through the present and far down into the future.

Another line of advance in biology follows from the recognition of the prodigious number of species of animals or plants in this small world and the nature of the influences (factors in evolution) which effect their gradual change from age to age. A species is a definable kind of organism which has run the gauntlet of life and which has endured. The detailed study of groups of species involves constant discoveries of new forms, and of their relations to one another and to obstacles in their reaction from the environment. All these multitudinous facts work together to give our best knowledge of organic evolution. The cumulative argument is always the best of evidence the conception of evolution can demand. All groups of animals and plants tell the same story, and in most groups it is reinforced and supported by the discovery of myriads of extinct forms.

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These confirm at every hand the inductions drawn from the knowledge of living organisms.

Science alone can form a sound basis for the conduct of life. The art of living, or ethics, can fall back on no final authority. That is right which in the long run justifies itself in more abundant life. In such matters neither man nor nation can trust to impulse or to instincts, for to control these and to discriminate among them is a function of intelligence. Conscience, even though backed by a will to do right, needs training and instruction. The grossest brutalities that stain the pages of history have been perpetrated by men with a perfectly clear conscience, though not an enlightened one. In the conduct of life we cannot trust religion, for the sentiment of fear, awe, reverence and duty, from which it evolves is likely to be sadly mangled or overlaid by superstition. Truth is always in some degree perverted by uninformed tradition or by systematic organization. It is for science to dissolve superstition and to disentangle religion from the confusing meshes of authority.

The primal great function of science is to widen and strengthen the human mind. It makes humanity worth while. Its span is the accessible universe, dealing alike with the almost infinitely large and the impalpably

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small. Science knows no great or small, save as attributes of that with which it treats. Man can reach but a small part, not a fraction, but a tangible fringe of the universe which knows no final bounds. We find in it endless change and limitless adjustment. But every change is orderly. So far as we can see, "Nothing endures save the flow of energy and the rational order that pervades it." To the word "rational" as thus used, we can assign no human meaning. That which lies behind it we cannot describe, for to describe would involve also the power to circumscribe. No terms of human experience are adequate to carry us over into the realm of the unconditioned, the fathomless, or the unknowable.

The present writer had planned to conclude this paper with the account of the rapid advance of science in the last ten years, especially in regions not devastated by war, and the struggles toward expansion of knowledge in the remaining countries of Europe. In the United States great sums are now given, mostly by private citizens, to extend knowledge in various quarters, notably in protective and preventive medicine, chemistry, anatomy, geology, physics and biology. Large plans for natural history explorations are being made, into which I hoped to go in some detail. But a

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degree of eye-strain warns me to conclude this paper, without further detail, but with the addition of a broad ray of hope. The more men really know of our universe, the broader their range of happiness and faith.

11. RECENT GAINS IN RELIGION

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by HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

THE widest imaginable diversity of judgment must be expected in the discussion of such questions as are involved in our subject. Scientists may reach a fair consensus of opinion as to the gains, losses, present estate, and prospects of science, but no such unanimity can be approached in a realm like art. The question whether art is progressing or degenerating is so much a matter of like and dislike, prejudice and predilection, tradition and esthetic theory, that the opinions of any one man must be taken with a whole salt shaker and even then qualified in view of his personal bias. Religion in this regard, as in others, is much nearer akin to art than to science, and to say whether religion is advancing or retrogressing and in what particulars its gains and losses consist should be a tentative and modest expression of personal opinion. The Catholic and the Protestant, the fundamentalist and the modernist, the premillennialist and the social reformer, the authoritarian and the experimentalist, the theist and the humanist will not see the same facts with the same eyes.

On only one point would they all be likely to agree:

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religion in the United States is in a badly muddled state and will have a difficult time getting out.

Intellectually religion has faced a rapid accession of new knowledge issuing in a new world-view utterly diverse from the outlook on the universe implied in the Bible and the classic creeds. The new astronomy, the reign of natural law, evolution, the new physics, chemistry, psychology—how rapidly the scene has shifted until the world-view today is one which would have been unimaginable to any Biblical writer or to any classic council of the church! One often wonders what would have happened had the Protestant Reformation been postponed until after the modern scientific movement was under way so that the new religion could have phrased itself naturally in terms of the new world-outlook. In that case, we might have been spared part of our problem. What actually happened, however, was that Copernicus was an incredible “astrol-og-er” to Luther; the Westminster Confession, latest of the classic creeds, was written before Newton broached the law of gravitation; and in general, historical Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, has been set in terms of a world-view now outmoded and unbelievable. The resulting demand for adjustment and restatement has plunged Western Christianity into intellectual turmoil.

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Ethically the rapidly changing situation induced by the mobile movements of Western civilization has fairly run the church's authoritative codes off their feet. Authoritative codes are cut to fit a stable society, but when society swiftly grows,—especially if it grows hunchbacked and bandy-legged,—the task of recutting the conventions is disconcerting. Something like that has happened in our Western world. Science has handed us not only new ideas to digest but new powers to handle, and in an unprecedented economic civilization with family problems, international problems, racial problems which our old codes do not obviously fit, questions about what is right and what is wrong rise in bewildering array. Religion, in consequence, is ethically confused. It speaks no united and convincing word. Even on matters like the family—obviously in desperate straits in the United States—where religion's most intimate ethical concerns center, it fumbles for its message, and to its people, wanting seriously to know what is right under these puzzling conditions, it commonly substitutes the gusto of special pleading for intelligent leadership.

Institutionally the estate of Western Christianity is a disgrace. Most Christians, Catholic and Protestant, conservative and liberal, would in one tone of voice or another admit that. There are plenty of historical rea-

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sons for our sectarian divisions but contemporary reasons or even excuses are difficult to find. The various Protestant denominations—over a hundred and fifty of them in the United States—are for the most part specializing in irrelevant details utterly remote from this generation's real interests. The result is that, while modern life in every other realm is rapidly changing its organization with a view to meeting contemporary problems, religion remains organized around shibboleths as outworn as Guelph and Ghibelline and symbols of loyalty as antiquated as the roses of Lancaster and York.

Let this brief summary suffice to represent religion's multiplied difficulties in many diverse realms. Intellectually chaotic, ethically confused, organizationally antiquated—such is the appearance of religion to many folk today. Their reactions to this view may be triumphant scorn of religion, grieved disappointment over it, or wistful desire to have it back again in vital, fruitful form, but, whether with nonchalance or regret, multitudes in the churches and out of them feel that religion is losing ground.

To endeavor, therefore, a statement of religion's gains may be not simply encouraging, but a useful contribution to the balanced truth about a very complicated situation. Certainly the whole story of West-

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ern Christianity is not exhibited in a narrative of its losses, difficulties, and failures. To one, at least, who intimately and constantly lives inside the problem, the prophetic, promising elements in the situation outweigh those factors which the defeatist emphasizes.

II

For one thing, the readjustments of religion's thought to the modern world-view are going on at a much more rapid rate than the casual observer, especially if he is an outsider, commonly suspects. What he takes as typical of the churches is the fulminations of militant fundamentalists, the sustained pretense that the clergy are custodians of magical sacraments, the surrender of state legislatures to the foes of evolution, the medieval theological deliverances of ecclesiastical conventions, the pronouncements of organizations like the Supreme Kingdom and the Ku Klux Klan, the anti-social attitude of the premillennialists, and even the assertions of Voliva of Zion City telling the world over the radio that the earth is flat. Such crass ignorance in the churches as these and similar factors indicate is not to be minimized. It is present, it is sometimes prevalent, and it is always serious. Moreover, it is interesting and its exhibitions make news for

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the papers. But such factors are not the determinative elements; the future is not theirs.

One indication of this is the collapse of the late controversy between fundamentalists and modernists. It was obviously a rear-guard action. It largely concerned matters which were not even interesting to modern intelligence and which had really been settled long ago. Its immediate occasion was the correct apprehension on the part of the conservatives that liberalism was gaining and must be ejected from the churches if the status quo was to be maintained. As a matter of fact, liberalism has not been ejected from the churches. It never was more sure of its standing ground within them than it is now.

I am under no illusion as to the present situation. The era of comparative good feeling which now follows the unpleasant days of battle does not represent anything that can be remotely construed as the victory of progressive ideas and policies. It means simply that after a convulsive endeavor to drive the liberals from the churches the liberals still remain. They are supported by too strong and too growing a body of opinion to be dislodged. Where ejection has taken place or disgusted individuals have decided no longer to break their heads against some denominational stone wall, the creative religious spirit of the time has already

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prepared for them other agencies of service such as community churches, where they continue, often with increased happiness and usefulness, to serve their cause. For the most part, however, within rather than without the traditional churches the movement goes on which, valuing as much as ever our fathers did the spiritual experiences that lie at the heart of Christianity, is rethinking and restating them in terms congenial with the modern mind.

This movement goes deeper, reaches farther, spreads more rapidly than most folk imagine. One reads with astonishment, for example, the pronouncements of the societies for the advancement of atheism, in which they vehemently deny the existence of a kind of God in whom multitudes of loyal churchmen long since ceased believing. Many similar assailants of religion pride themselves on modernity, but are obviously unaware of what has been going on in the thinking of Christian scholars and Christian ministers, to say nothing of Christian laymen, in the last quarter of a century. Each new generation that comes up in the churches tends to make more sure and rapid this change from the medieval world-view to the modern universe as the matrix for religious thought. In part consciously and deliberately, in part involuntarily and unwittingly, this shift proceeds. The mythological elements of historic

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Christianity are often not so much attacked as forgotten; like fairy stories they are crowded to the fringe of the church's consciousness by things that vitally matter. Less and less is it possible to believe in a bifurcated universe where a supernatural realm overlays a natural realm and occasionally erupts into it. To be sure, this radical change from trafficking with the miraculous and supernatural to spiritualizing the interpretation and use of the natural is difficult. The same sentiments, conservatisms, ignorances, and prejudices which bind popular thinking to narrow nationalism long after internationalism has become the prime necessity of civilization also binds religious thought to its accustomed trellises. But in one case, as in the other, the future belongs to the new and larger view.

III

A second gain, companion to the first, is to be found in the fact that the nature of religion has grown more clear and its discrimination from accessory entanglements has been made more possible by our modern knowledge. In the light of present information all such prophecies of religion's demise as old disbelievers once indulged in are obviously nonsense. Never was it more clear that religion is ineradicably rooted in human nature. Reduce it even to its simplest terms and it still means devotion to those concrete spiritual values, good-

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ness, truth, beauty, love, which the human soul recognizes as suprapersonal and in consecration to which life finds its true meaning. To serve these values is to live a religious life, and to believe that these values reveal the creative Reality, God, behind and in the universe is religion's central faith. Sciences may come and go but religion so rooted will persist as long as the race does. It may appear in Protean forms but it is as indestructible as earth, air, fire, or water. That has grown more plain, not less, as psychology has probed deeper into the secrets of the spirit. There is no excuse now for identifying religion's future with the fortunes of its artificial adhesions—opinions, cults, rubrics, and institutions.

Because this is true, a great deal of the world's best religion exists outside religious organizations and often does not call itself religious at all. Only a narrowly ecclesiastical mind will find that fact disconcerting. It is rather something to rejoice over and count upon. It is because religion, even when it is unrecognized as such, is so indispensable a function of human life at its best that the churches have any chance at all. No wise minister thinks of himself as set to inoculate men with religion. He knows that men are religious; that a completely irreligious man, if such exists, is an insane anomaly; that human life is meaningless animal existence except as it serves spiritual values; and that the

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human mind will never permanently consent to think that spiritual values are a fortuitous accident born of atoms going it blind in a godless universe. He knows that when he does his work well he is working with and not against the deepest streams of human nature.

Such freedom from the obsession that any creed, cult, church or canon law constitutes religion, such humanizing of the religious experience, is a great gain. Religion so conceived is too vital to be exhaustively represented by any mental or institutional formulation. Religion creates such expressions and discards them as men wear clothes and cast them off. Religion is an indispensable way of life and it would persist though every historic form of it which we have known were quite outgrown.

This fact grows increasingly clear and to any one interested in religion it should be encouraging and liberating. It leads not to irreverence toward past expressions of the spirit but to just appreciation of them, and it prophesies a future for the religious life beyond any dreams that static and conventional conceptions ever made possible.

IV

The gains of organized religion are much more difficult to see. There is evident reason for the common

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habit of speaking respectfully about religion and disrespectfully about its institutions. In general one cannot read the opinions of objective and unprejudiced minds or listen to the conversation of the intelligent without perceiving a serious belief, sometimes apprehensive, sometimes content and satisfied, that organized religion is losing ground.

Nevertheless, all the facts are by no means on one side. Contrary to a prevalent idea, Protestant church membership in the United States in the ten years between 1915 and 1925 increased slightly more rapidly than did the population. The truth is that when all criticisms are acknowledged, the churches, for all their mistakes, futilities, and failures, are functioning with so much usefulness that, in a time when ever fewer people go to church from a sense of duty, they continue to thrive and grow. Ministrations to personal character, saving influences thrown around the family and the children, encouragement to faith in God and the spiritual meaning of life, without which existence grows tawdry and sordid—these and other indispensable services they do actually render to multitudes so that in watching the spectacle one's impression is not so much disheartenment as wonder. If these belated, split, and often obscurantist spiritual agencies can so persist and function, what could be done with really effective

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churches! When all has been said that can be said against the churches, it is noticeable that apparently nobody wishes to live in a community without one.

Moreover, if it be true that there is nothing on earth so powerful as an idea whose hour is come, the end of some of the worst features in the present churches will surely arrive. The ideal of a united church of Christ has flashed on the minds of men and it cannot be unflashed. Some leaders work toward this goal in overhead ways, convening ecumenical conferences to discuss the problems of unity; some work toward it through practical coöperation, as in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, or in organizations like the Christian Associations, where special sectarian affiliations are forgotten; some build community churches comprehending all sorts of old alignments within their fellowship, or take denominational congregations, dissolve their exclusive features, and make them inclusive communions welcoming Christians without regard to creed, sect, or ritual.

This movement toward inclusive churches is on, and nothing can stop it. It will gather momentum as it proceeds. In view of the futility of overstocked towns with poverty-stricken, struggling churches, disgraced, to start with, by the pettiness of the reasons behind their separation, it seems likely that practical support

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will increasingly drift to comprehensive communions and that belated forms of denominational organization will gradually be starved out.

So far from being discouraged, therefore, one who sees what is afoot is confident that great days are ahead. The issue will not be settled simply by idealists following the vision of Christian unity. In part it will be forced by lack of practical support for antiquated forms of organization which reduplicate each other and by their very existence sin against the whole code of efficiency that is America's Bushido. It may seem caustic but it is true: one of the great gains of the churches today is the certainty that so many of them will perish from inanition.

This conspiracy of ideals luring from before and pressure compelling from behind is the hope of the situation. It is at work everywhere in the churches. Long ago, for example, wise missionary leaders became aware that the whole theory and program of foreign missions needed to be restudied and reformed. Now, however, it not only ought to be done but must be. China has forced the issue. When ideals pull and compelling circumstances push, at least some movement is fairly well assured.

I am under no illusion about the difficulties which beset the endeavor to achieve a united Christian church.

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My confidence is placed in the local movements of individual congregations toward inclusiveness rather than in large overhead endeavors to achieve, by a *tour de force*, union on the basis of common creeds, common views of the sacraments, and common ideas of holy orders. I foresee that an attempt is likely to be made to unite all Christians in an organization which will start by accepting the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds as the basis of theology, and will go on to center the union in certain historic views of the sacraments and the episcopate. I am sure that such a union, if it succeeds at all, will leave out much of the most virile strength of the Christian churches. That basis of union is hopelessly askew and nothing permanently secure can be built upon it. We must get together, if we do at all, on community of purpose and not on unanimity of opinion.

With all the difficulties clearly in mind, however, the prospect is exciting. What the churches need most is leaders. Says one student of affairs: "At no time in Christian history has the leadership in matters of religion been more ignorant than it is today in Protestant America." A mitigating element is the fact that the same writer makes a similar charge against the present leadership in journalism, and others are equally severe on education. The truth is that the genius of

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our generation is scientific, mechanical, inventive, so that in the twentieth century the best brains are being drained into that channel as in the thirteenth they were drained into Franciscan saintliness, Dominican learning, or Renaissance art. Such a situation is not permanent, but it is serious. Religion and education, art and literature, all suffer. Personally, I expect the moral necessities of the situation to cause an inevitable reaction which will mean a revival of spiritual life, a renaissance of religion, and a new access of leadership from among the best brains and the best characters of the nation. Under present circumstances, were that to come, the achievement of a single decade might quite remake the churches.

v

A final gain is indicated by the fact that no organization, not even the churches, can permanently keep live people excited about dead issues. Every one with his eyes open knows that tremendous problems face our civilization and, in spite of the familiar misuse of religion as a means of retreat from real difficulties into fantasy or as a defense mechanism to make things seem all right when they are all wrong, the fact is inescapably pressed home on increasing numbers of people that unless religion functions as a practical savior

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in human affairs mankind must slough it off along with other useless encumbrances.

This necessity of testing religion by its ethical consequence has been emphasized by the Christian social movement associated with the slogan "Back to Jesus." It is easy to caricature that movement. In unintelligent hands it undoubtedly has resulted in distorted pictures of Jesus which have made him, not a true citizen of the first century, as he was, but a modernist of the twentieth century, which he was not, and it has sometimes found not so much what Jesus actually did teach as what the writer hoped he did. Nevertheless, the movement has done incalculable good. It has called the urgent attention of the church to the ethical ideals of Jesus. It has made clear the towering fact that the religion of Jesus was not primarily something to be believed, although great beliefs were associated with it, nor something primarily to be felt, although warm emotions were involved in it, but something to be done, a program of action, and a way of life. This insight has involved a disturbed conscience on the part of all who have achieved it. For neither in personal habits, economic practices, nor international relationships are we living by Jesus' method nor are we often even trying to or conceiving it possible.

In spite of the perverse and wicked substitution of

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petty questions for real problems, of which the churches are commonly guilty, nothing can keep the Christian mind and conscience from turning ever more urgently to these really important centers of attention. Two tremendous questions face modern Christianity: faith in God, which is the only theological problem now much worth discussing, and the application of Jesus' principles to personal and social life, on which the continuance of Christianity crucially depends.

It is a promising gain to discover where the real questions are. I do not see how any one can read what intelligent Christians now are writing or know what unwritten things they anxiously are thinking without seeing that Canute could more easily have stayed the sea than obscurantism can keep the Christian mind and conscience of today and tomorrow from facing its great problems. Personally, I think it probable in consequence that the twentieth century, before it is through, will see a renaissance of spiritual life in general and of religion in particular, accompanied both by constructive social reformation and by a synthetic philosophy which will gather up the mass of new mental materials into a coherent whole and give life once more a unified interpretation and meaning. At any rate, I am confident that the alternative to that is the collapse of Western civilization.

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Religion is too deep and elusive to have its gains and losses catalogued. Religion is mysticism—being strengthened with power through God's Spirit in the inward man; it is ethics—the wrestling of man's ideal with man's actual; it is metaphysics—the assurance that not dirt but personality is the final interpreter of the Eternal. Any one endeavoring to say whether religion waxes or wanes may well end with an ancient and wise comment on the ways of the Spirit: "The wind bloweth where it will, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth."

12. A CRITIQUE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

John Dewey is Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University and without question the leading American philosopher; author of RECONSTRUCTION IN PHILOSOPHY, HUMAN NATURE AND CONDUCT, EXPERIENCE AND NATURE, DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION, and numerous other works.

12. A CRITIQUE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

by JOHN DEWEY

WHEN Robinson Crusoe sat down to make a debit-credit list of his blessings and his troubles, he did it in order to cheer himself up. One has a feeling that when one is engaged in undertaking a somewhat similar appraisal of our civilization, one is doing something of the same sort, indulging in social apologetics. Nor is this the only embarrassment. A person can put down in black and white his financial resources and liabilities, but the result will not shed light upon his state of health and his intellectual and moral well-being. So it is possible to itemize with more or less accuracy certain gains and losses in American life, and yet not know what they import for the prosperity of our social body. There is for example a great gain, a gain of two hundred and fifty per cent in ten years in the number of students in our secondary schools and colleges. But what does it signify? There is a great increase in crime and disregard of law. But what does it mean? Neither the causes nor the consequences of such gains and losses are apparent, and without an insight into reasons and effects, we can hardly even guess what these things portend for good and ill in our civilization. One for-

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eign visitor says a number of nice things about our country, and another one may pass a number of harsh criticisms. We may agree as to the substantial truth of both statements, and experience a glow of pride at one and a sense of irritation at the other. But what do these things mean? Has either of them got below the surface? I should not feel greater assurance if I tried to strike a balance sheet of gains and losses in American civilization.

Fortunately for me this is not my task. It has been accomplished in various fields by those competent to speak, each in his and her own special territory. Yet when I am called upon to try and sum up, and to tell what it all comes to in the direction and quality of American life, I experience a profound misgiving. Where are we going? Toward what are we moving? The value of any changing thing lies in its consequences, and the consequences of the present conditions and forces are not here. To make an evaluation is to prophesy, and where is there the astronomer who can predict the future of our social system?

I should not, however, indulge in the expression of these doubts if they were merely personal misgivings. They seem rather to be indicative, evidential, in a peculiar way, of the state and prospects of American civilization. By this I mean something more than the plati-

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tude that we are in a state of social transition and flux. I mean in the first place, that when we list items of gain and loss in opposite columns, we find paradoxes, contradictions of extraordinary range and depth; and in the second place, that these contradictions are evidence of what seems to be the most marked trait of our present state—namely, its inner tension and conflict. If ever there was a house of civilization divided within itself and against itself, it is our own today. If one were to take only some symptoms and ignore others, one might make either a gloomy or a glowing report, and each with equal justice—as far as each went.

If one looks at the overt and outer phenomena, at what I may call the public and official, the externally organized, side of our life, my own feeling about it would be one of discouragement. We seem to find everywhere a hardness, a tightness, a clamping down of the lid, a regimentation and standardization, a devotion to efficiency and prosperity of a mechanical and quantitative sort. If one looks exclusively at the activities of a great number of individuals in different spheres (and by individuals I mean voluntary groups as well), there is a scene of immense vitality that is stimulating to the point of inspiration. This contradiction between the inner and the outer, the private and the public,

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phases of our civilization, seems to be its most significant feature; the sense of its existence and scope furnishes the gist of all I have to say.

One finds, I think, the fact of this opposition reflected, at least implicitly, in all the articles that report upon special phases of our life. Let me note, almost at random, some of its obviously visible signs. In domestic politics, there is an extraordinary apathy, indicated not only by abstention from the polls, but in the seemingly calm indifference with which the public takes the revelation of corruption in high places. On the other hand, there was never previously so much publicity, so much investigation and exposure having a genuinely scientific quality. And unless one thinks that the cynical indifference of the public is an evidence of thoroughgoing corruption not merely of some officials and business men, but of the heart of the American people, there is ground for thinking that the prevailing attitude toward political life is itself an indication of a growing sense that our reliance and hope is being increasingly put on agencies that lie deeper than the political; that there is a feeling, as yet inarticulate and groping, that the real needs of the American people must be met by means more fundamental than our traditional political institutions put at our disposal. If, and as far as, our political apathy is due to wide-

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spread distrust of the reality, under present conditions, of existing political forms, there is ground for belief that social forces that are much more truly characteristic of our social life than is our inherited political machinery are destined to change the latter, when there will be a revival of political interest, and only then.

The domestic political scene presents a still more obvious contradiction in connection with the matter of intolerance. Never have the forces of bigotry and intolerance been so well organized and so active. It is enough to refer to the Ku Klux Klan, not yet negligible. On the other hand, for the first time in history there is a possibility of the election of a Roman Catholic for the office of the presidency. This contradiction may not seem very significant, but to me at least it seems deeply symptomatic of our entire condition, that which I have called inner division and tension. The very factors that have produced the tightening up and solidifying of the forces of reaction are also producing a more conscious and determined liberal attitude. Organization and outer power still lie with the former; but the latter is in process of fermentation and inner growth, and the future may be on its side. So viewed, I would assign to the fact just cited a significance that taken in isolation it does not possess.

A more important if vaguer illustration of the point

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is found in the whole situation as regards freedom of thought and speech. It goes without saying that never before in our history have there been such flagrant violations of what one would have supposed to be fundamental in the American system. It is customary to refer this particular reënforcement of reaction to the war. Undoubtedly the reference is correct, and yet the war was an opportunity rather than the decisive cause. The sources lie further back in the development of our régime of control of economic forces. On the other hand, never was the spirit of self-criticism so alert and penetrating. If our complacency has grown more strident and self-conscious, so has our spirit of self-examination and discrimination. This fact has been noted sufficiently in special articles so that there is no need to dwell upon it or cite evidence. If we are our own "best pals" we are now also our own "severest critics." Public and organized censorship and repression has its counterpart in spontaneous and private exploration and exhibition of shortcomings and evils. To all appearance, the age of muckraking has disappeared. But by contrast, that outburst was comparatively external and superficial. It dealt with specific and outward ailments. If the fervor of exposure and condemnation that marked the nineties has vanished, it is also true that the critical spirit has turned inward and is

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now concerned with underlying intellectual and moral causes.

As I recently read Arthur Garfield Hays' "Let Freedom Ring," I was of two minds. One was of profound shame and depression that we had so far departed from the principles that were supposed to be the foundation of our political and social structure. But then there is the book itself and still more there is the gallant fight for freedom it records. And I wondered whether, if any previous time exhibited such a record of suppression, it also manifested any more courageous and unremitting battle for the maintenance of civil liberties. And it occurred to me that the consolidation of the energy of the forces of reaction was perhaps a sign of their well-grounded fear that after all, contrary social forces were working against them. After all, blacklists and "key-sheets" have some occasion, and the ridiculous fear of the Bolshevizing of our country may be a symptom that those in power are not entirely at ease in their Zion.

In international matters, there is, it seems to me, a like contradiction. That imperialistic policy is now, in an economic form, our dominating note, seems to me too evident to need proof. But, in spite of the pious words of the Hughes-Coolidge régime, it is becoming recognized for what it is. Only occasionally perhaps does

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the protest due to its recognition find effective expression in action, as it did in the case of Mexico noted in the article by Norman Thomas. But nevertheless we are not so somnolent as we once were. Our economic policy in Nicaragua goes marching on with the support of marines; but there was a time when similar interventions (with apologies to our authorities for not calling them "interpositions") went almost without notice, beyond the pious hope that we were instilling some decent fear of God in a lot of semi-savages. Perception of great social changes usually lags far behind the changes themselves, so far behind that it is incapable of modifying their operation. But perception of the growth of economic imperialism is not perhaps so far behind the fact, and consequently so important, as has been the case in other matters. There are some grounds for hoping that it is nearly enough up to date so as to exercise a contemporary influence.

That an immediate effect of the war and of the "peace" in which it issued was to intensify and make more conscious our international isolation, there can hardly be a doubt. Silly as it is, the mere word "international" is suspect in many quarters; it smells of Russia and the Third International. While "Americanization" processes are not so drastic as they were a few years ago, the older immigrants to this country, who

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arrogate themselves the title of "Americans," still display fear of late comers. Persons are blacklisted for no greater crime than favoring the outlawry of war or adherence of the United States to the World Court. But on the other side individuals have a much wider and more sympathetic interest in foreign affairs than ever before, and numerous voluntary associations stimulate and feed the interest. If overtly and outwardly we are more nationalistic than at any previous time, we are also, as far as intellectual and moral currents are concerned, more internationally inclined. The entire peace movement is less negative, less merely anti-war and more bent on establishing positive international coöperation. As the chapter on *Advances in the Quest for Peace* notes, it is also much more realistic. While, during the war, a man might find himself in jail for a too emphatic declaration that the causes of the war were economic rivalries, that is now a commonplace of discussion from admirals to the man in the street. It is a great gain that intelligent people now know where to look, what to give attention to, in all cases of international friction. While there is not adequate evidence that this enlightenment is sufficient to withstand organized propaganda in the case of a crisis, it is still true, I think, that glittering generalities about

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freedom, justice, and an end to all war as the objectives of a war have lost much of their force.

It has long been a moot question how civilization is to be measured. What is the gauge of its status and degree of advance? Shall it be judged by its *élite*, by its artistic and scientific products, by the depth and fervor of its religious devotion? Or by the level of the masses, by the amount of ease and security attained by the common man? Was pre-revolutionary Russia at the acme of European civilization because of its achievements in literature, music and the drama? Or will the new Russia if it succeeds, even at the expense of retrogression in these matters, in elevating the life of the masses, stand at a higher level? As between the two sides to the controversy, there is no common premise, and hence no possibility of a solution. One side can claim to stand for ideal attainments as the ultimate measure and accuse the other side of having a low and merely materialistic criterion. This other side can retort with a charge of aristocratic harsh indifference to the well-being and security of the great number to whom the struggle for life is all-important, and inquire what is the value of an art and a science from which most are excluded, or of a religion that for the many is merely a dream of a remote bliss compensatory to the suffering of present evils.

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The question is evidently crucial for an appraisal of gains in American civilization. From what base line shall we set out to measure? Those who engage in glorification of American life uniformly point to the fact that the lot of the common man (however poor it may still be from an absolute standard) is at least better than that of his fellow in other countries or at other epochs.

If we ask for the intellectual and ideal content of this common life, the tale is not so reassuring. Even when we have discounted the exaggerations of the now familiar denunciations of the yokelry and the booboisie, enough truth remains to be depressing. It would probably be easy to fill my allotted space with evidences of the triviality and superficiality of life as it is lived by the masses. It is perhaps enough to refer for a good-humored depiction of the scene to Charles Merz's "American Bandwagon." And if we take achievements in higher culture as our standard of valuation, not even the most optimistic can give our civilization a very high rating. To take one illustration, our physical plant for scientific study is far superior to that of any European country; measured by capital invested, it might even be equal to that of all Europe. The results hardly correspond. The pressure toward immediate commercial application is great, and the popular hero

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is the inventor, not the investigator and discoverer. Burbank and Edison are names to conjure with, while those of Willard Gibbs and Michelson are faint rumors on a thin air.

The dispute concerns ultimate standards, and hence, as has been said, cannot be settled—except by taking sides. But one can say that in the end the value of elevation of the common man in security, ease and comfort of living is to be viewed as an opportunity for a possible participation in more ideal values; and that there is something defective, to say the least, in a civilization wherein achievements in the former do not terminate in a general participation in spiritual values. To bring about opportunities is to have done much; but if the opportunities are not utilized, the actual outcome is a reproach and condemnation. Here then is the issue: Admitting that our civilization displays a relative superiority in its material basis, what are we likely to build upon it in religion, science and art, and in the amenities and graces of life?

The question is framed with respect to the future. There is some truth in the old saying that we have been too occupied with the material conquest of a continent to occupy ourselves with higher things. But since the former task is fairly accomplished, we may well ask ourselves how it stands with the other part of the say-

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ing: that when we get around to it, we shall make "culture hum"? The distinctive pioneer virtues have departed with the pioneer age. Where is the enormous and vital energy that marked this age now directing itself? Survey of the immediate scene would seem to indicate that much of it is going into a frenzied money-making, an equally frenzied material enjoyment of the money that is made, and an imitative "having a good time" on the part of those who haven't made much money. There are those who think that in conquering a continent, our own souls have been subdued by the material fruits of the victory. Prosperity is our God.

The case has been so put as to suggest the worst possibility. There is much to be said on the other side; there are many hopeful signs that might be pointed to. In a series devoted to gains in American civilization, I seem to be emphasizing losses. Yet what has been said may be relevant in at least bringing to the fore the ultimate problem, that of the measure of gain and loss. It is also tributary, I think, to my main point—that we are in the throes of an inner conflict and division. For the situation taken at its worst is that of the overt and public phase of our life, while the things that may be set forth on the other side of the account have to do with forces that are as yet unorganized and inchoate. One may point to our newspaper press and to the type

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of periodical that one finds on the news-stands as representing the organized aspect of our intellectual life in its public impact. A tabloid, with all that that implies, having a circulation of over a million—almost three times that of the other style of papers—and the multitudes of “confession” magazines, would then seem to tell a large part of the story. But on the other hand there is the unprecedented appearance and astonishing popular welcome of books that popularize and humanize serious subjects. I find this fact to be illustrative of something real and vital which is stirring, and which in the outcome may have a potency greater than that of the factors externally dominant. As an isolated fact, it proves nothing. As a symptom, it is perhaps highly significant. The spontaneous local developments of interest in painting, music, drama, and the vogue of poetry go deeper. “Best sellers” are certainly of much higher average type than a generation ago.

Reference to the educational situation is pertinent at this point. It is unnecessary to review what has already been said by Mr. Sharp in his article. Yet the rapid and intense extension of interest and activity in adult, parental and pre-school education, in education at both ends of the scale, is an indication that cannot be ignored, any more than can the remarkable development of progressive schools. The most extraordinary

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matter, however, is the expansion of secondary and higher education. No one can tell its cause or import, but in velocity and extent it marks nothing less than a revolutionary change. It used to be said that only one in twenty of the elementary pupils found their way into high school, and only one in a hundred into college. Now the number in the lower schools is only five times that in the secondary schools, and there is one student in a college to twenty in the elementary. And the astonishing thing is that the expansion has occurred at an accelerating rate since 1910. There are for example at least six times as many students in colleges and professional schools as there were thirty years ago, and tenfold more in secondary schools. Let the worst possible be said about the quality of the education received, and it remains true that we are in the presence of one of the most remarkable social phenomena of history. It is impossible to gauge the release of potentialities contained in this change; it is incredible that it should not eventuate in the future in a corresponding intellectual harvest. While, as I have said, it is impossible to determine its causes, it at least shows that we are finally beginning to make good our ideal of equal educational opportunity for all. I believe that a considerable part of the development is due to the rise in status of immigrants of the second and third generation; and in spite

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of all that is said in depreciation of those from southern and southeastern Europe, I believe that when our artistic renaissance comes, it will proceed largely from this source.

The reverse side of the pattern is, of course, the intensification of efforts of special interests to control public and private education for their own ends, mainly under the guise of a nationalistic patriotism. The recent revelations of the efforts of the Electric Light and Power Companies to utilize the schools are much in point. I know of nothing more significant than the fact that the instructions sent out to publicity agents for manufacturing public opinion and sentiment uniformly combine "press and schools" as the agencies to be influenced. In some respects these revelations seem to me more sinister than those of the oil scandals, in that they represent an attempt at corruption of the source of public action. In any case, we have a striking instance of what I have called our inner conflict and tension. Our democracy is at least far enough advanced so that there is a premium put on the control of popular opinion and beliefs. There was a time in history when the few did not have to go through the form of consulting the opinion of the many. Government by press agents, by "counsellors of public relations," by propaganda in press and school,

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is at least evidence that that time has passed. We have enough government by public opinion so that it is necessary for the economic powers that govern to strive to regulate the agencies by which that opinion is created.

If we ask which forces are to win, those that are organized, that know what they are after and that take systematic means to accomplish their end, or those that are spontaneous, private and scattered—like those that have resulted in the expansion of our higher school population—we have, I think, the problem of our civilization before us. To answer the problem is to engage in prophecy that may well be gratuitous. It goes back to faith rather than to proof by sight and touch. Yet there *are* reasons for hoping for a favorable issue. One of them is the fact that our civilization, whatever else it may be, is one of diffusion, of ready circulation. It is a fancy of mine to picture the essence of our life in terms of the Ford car. On the one side, there is the acme of mechanization, of standardization, of external efficiency. On the other, there is, as the effect, a vast mobility, a restless movement of individuals. The resulting mobility is aimless and blind; it can be easily represented as exhibiting a mere love of movement for its own sake, an abandonment to speed of change for its own sake. But nevertheless the movement, the instabil-

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ity, is there. The industrial forces that would control it for their own purposes, automatically, and as by some principle of fate, multiply and intensify it. Thus the division, the tension, increases. A standardized, regimented technology of industry continually releases unexpected and unforeseen forces of individuality. In its effort to control their operation, it redoubles its repressive and mechanizing efforts. Is it a mere compensatory fantasy to suppose that in the process it is inevitably and unwittingly working its own doom? The answer given will depend upon one's conceptions of the ultimate structure of individual human nature, of what its potentialities will do when they are liberated.

It is a trite saying that our social experiment, that of raising the level of the mass, is an unprecedented one. It is impossible, however, to separate the scope of the endeavor from that side of our civilization that is most open to criticism—its devotion to quantity at the expense of quality. It is as true of civilizations as of persons that their defects and their qualities of value go together. Moreover the ideal of mass elevation is intimately connected with the fact of diffusion. Our democratic fathers apparently thought that the desired elevation of the mass would automatically occur if certain political agencies were instituted. By one of the ironies of history, these political agencies are just

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the thing that lent themselves, indirectly rather than directly, to appropriation and manipulation by the few in possession of ultimate economic power. But meantime the very forces of industry have created mechanisms that operate to bring about diffusion on an unprecedented scale. European critics of our culture often ignore the fact that many of the things they criticize are due to the fact that we have been compelled perforce to undertake the task which Europe shirked. In their animadversions upon our lack in higher culture, they pass over the fact that millions of European immigrants have, and have realized, opportunities here that they never had at home. The mass and quantitative aspect of our civilization has thus a uniquely positive significance. All the facts indicate that if we should attain the higher values by which civilization is to be ultimately measured, it will be by a mass achievement, and not be the work of a chosen few, of an *élite*. It will be by social osmosis, by diffusion.

If then I have not touched specifically upon the industrial and technological phase of our life, it is because I regard it as central and dominant. It is the prepared mechanism of diffusion and distribution. And the ultimate question about it is not the distribution of pecuniary incomes that it finally effects. That question is indeed of an importance not to be ignored. But

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its last importance is its bearing upon the distribution of imponderables, the diffusion of education and of a share in the values of intellectual and artistic life. While it is true that devotion to the economic phase of life is materialism, and that so judged our civilization is materialistic, it is also true that we have broken down the age-long old-world separation of the material and the ideal, and that the destruction of this dualism is a necessary precondition of any elevated culture that is the property of a people as a whole. The constructive function, that of using the economic and material basis as a means for widely shared ideal ends, is only begun. But it is far enough along to provide what never existed before: operative agencies of diffusion. Even though it be of the nature of prophecy rather than of record, I do not believe that in the long run anything can defeat or seriously deflect the normal diffusion effect of our economic forces.

The tightening-up, the repression, the mechanical standardization to which allusion has been made, presents the attempt at obstruction and diversion of this normal tendency. The liberation of individual potentialities, the evocation of personal and voluntary associated energies, manifest the actual effect still expressed in a form as inchoate as the effort in the opposite direction is organic. Our faith is ultimately in individuals

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and their potentialities. In saying this, I do not mean what is sometimes called individualism as opposed to association. I mean rather an individuality that operates in and through voluntary associations. If our outward scene is one of externally imposed organization, behind and beneath there is working the force of liberated individualities, experimenting in their own ways to find and realize their own ends. The testimony of history is that in the end such a force, however scattered and inchoate, ultimately prevails over all set institutionalized forms, however firmly established the latter may seem to be.

In concluding, let me confess that I am aware that as I have been writing I have been influenced, and unduly so I think, by the mood of self-conscious criticism that has overtaken us. In reality, I believe that we have already accomplished very much in the way of diffusion of culture—whatever that elusive word may signify. It is a part of any humane culture to be concerned to see that others share in it. Our newly acquired self-consciousness makes one hesitant to speak of social service and practical idealism; the overworked words have taken on a somewhat ridiculous color. But it is true that no other people at any other age has been so permeated with the spirit of sharing as our own. If defects go with qualities, so do qualities with defects.

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The excessive sociability that breeds conformity also makes us uneasy till advantages are shared with the less fortunate. Every significant civilization gives a new meaning to "culture." If this new spirit, so unlike that of old-world charity and benevolence, does not already mark an attainment of a distinctive culture on the part of American civilization, and give the promise and potency of a new civilization, Columbus merely extended and diluted the Old World. But I still believe that he discovered a New World.

13. PROGRESS OR DECADENCE?

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13. PROGRESS OR DECADENCE?

by HARRY F. WARD

WHEN this symposium was first announced I said to the editor that the title had established a world record by begging three questions in five words—first that there was anything which could properly be called civilization; second that these United States had a title to the term America; third that there were any gains in the life of this country since the war. To this I added my grave doubts about a procedure which looks for something people want to find instead of going to see what is there. For good measure I threw in my very strong objection to any undertaking which seemed either designed or likely to fortify our comfortable, middle-class religionists in the false security which emanates from the idea of automatic progress that left them so unprepared and helpless when the World War hit them. That shelter must be ruthlessly destroyed before such people will set to work to make the future. So that I should now be asked to review the whole situation is some evidence of the temper in which this venture is being conducted.

I am informed that this series was not planned to give any aid or comfort to Pollyanna Rotarians, that the writers were told to describe what they saw, not

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merely the promising spots in the scene. Hence the title is one of the customary sacrifices to the great god Publicity. It really should have had a question mark after it. I understand that I am to put in the question mark.

Clearly these reviewers of our contemporary life in this country have reported to us some advances; but they give the impression of having had heavy going, especially at vital points. The best they can do for us is to recount some surface improvements without setting them against the underlying situation or, in the crucial matters of war, race, industry and religion to express faith that principles are being accepted, situations faced, attitudes changed. Just what is the worth of technical improvements in education and government in the face of the extent to which business enterprise, consciously and unconsciously, manages to control them and determine their objectives? The challenge of the Goose Step and of Teapot Dome with all its ramifications is yet to be faced by the people of this nation. Will the few who have accepted the ethics of Jesus in the matter of race relationships avail any more as the black people join the issue on economic and cultural equality than did those of the same sort in the slavery fight? What is the possibility of peacefully democratizing economic procedure and socializing industry by

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way of gigantic trusts whose predatory claws have been trimmed and who have found some humanitarian feeling, when these dividend-collecting organizations increase a luxury leisure class and diminish accordingly the means of development for the working section of the population? If religion must either function as a savior in the practical affairs of mankind or be sloughed off with other useless encumbrances, where are the signs that an ethical religion is actually developing among us? Where was it when the humanitarian conscience of Europe was shocked by the callousness with which we tortured to death two Italian workers?

These and other questions which our writers have raised, in the nature of the case, they could not answer. That was not merely because the period they were looking at was too short for an estimate of the balance of social forces. Nor was it simply that they were dealing with the aftermath of a war, which always throws the evil of life to the surface and leaves it lying there for a while to poison the air. The answers to the real questions they faced were to be found, if at all, at the points where the field which each one covered impinged upon the fields of all the others. Even a general survey is not likely to tell us whether or not life is moving ahead in these United States if it merely tries to add and subtract particular events or situations in the effort to

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determine where lies the balance of gain or loss. How, for instance, is our offer to Europe to write engagements to abandon war as an instrument of national policy to be assessed when at the same time we are dropping bombs on villages in Nicaragua? Are identical or antagonistic forces dictating these dissimilar events? Or do they represent the contradictory impulses of immaturity? In either case is it yet clear which indicates our future course, or is that left to the historian of another day to tell?

Because life in this country is still adolescent, with all the crudities, the warring tendencies, the illusions of that stage, the best that can be done in the attempt to measure and evaluate its recent activities and attitudes is an estimate of trends. And for these there are some standards. When we apply the word civilization to our collective behavior we challenge comparison with that kind of life in other times and places which in common usage is described by that term. That judgment comes with most authority from those not of our nation or race, particularly from those scholars of the Orient who have been trained in the cultures of both East and West and have seen the best and the worst of life in both hemispheres. To their words we had better listen with humility.

But we have also standards of our own. Young as

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we are we yet have a past. It is marked off by the World War, which changed not only our relations with the rest of the world but also the course of our own development. In that past the term American stood for some other things besides machines and money-making. And it stood for those other things first, anywhere in the world. America was different from Europe in their minds as well as ours. And the difference was not the fusion of the conglomerate in the melting pot. For that was Europe, with its barriers down, modifying itself. America meant more than that, to itself as well as to the Old World. It meant freedom and it meant equality. Europe had come to know that these were not only the perennial ideals of man but his desperate needs. Here, with many others of another sort, came those who sought these high goods, prepared to pay the price. Here, with the richest continent of the globe to exploit, men could and did move a little nearer to these ideals. For a time the Declaration of Independence, to whose principles so many of its beneficiaries are now recreant, meant something. And those principles are not ours to appropriate or to mutilate. They belong to mankind and it was the whole continent here, South as well as North, that gave the more adventurous of Europe a chance to move again in their development. The test of life here then, with its advantages of great

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natural wealth and a small population, is whether it now moves toward or away from freedom and equality. The achievement of these values in larger measure than was possible under the limitations of Europe was to be the distinctive characteristic of American culture. Here is where we were going to be different from the Old World.

How goes it then with freedom and equality in these United States at the present time? The answer to this question does not lie in the experience of most of the educated middle class. They are free to say and do most of the things they want to say or do. They feel themselves the equal of anybody and most of them are in command of the means of self-development. In order to see the state of freedom in its simplest and also most illusory form—freedom of opportunity—we must get to the viewpoint of the people who see what culture we have from outside and below. It is those who have not yet arrived who can tell us how free and equal is the chance to develop life in these United States, that is, they could if they could talk. I wonder what the gains that have been written about in this series mean to them; especially if they happen to live in a textile center, a steel or coal company-owned town, on a tenant or mortgaged farm, or even in that apotheosis of our development—an automobile city; and more especially

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if they have a desire to achieve some genuine culture for themselves or for their children. This possibility, on even terms with others, they have been promised by the American philosophy of equality. Is it not advertised to the ends of the earth as the great achievement of the democratic way of life on which we possess the patent? How does our knowledge of producing and developing better babies—the basic test of any civilization—extend to them? What proportion of their children will go to high school or college? How will that proportion compare with the record of those who came to this land of free natural resources earlier? And with those of other economic strata today? This is the test of whether or not a democratic civilization is developing. Does it spread its culture to the bottom of its population? Is it penetrating to those who are least efficient economically? Or is it static, resting on a certain income level? This is the test and meaning of statistics of income and ownership. If we can estimate the amount of culture and the desire for it among the lowest economic strata of the population we shall get reality into the dispute over the amount and meaning of the recent rise in real wages for sections of city workers and of the fall in real income for large sections of farmers.

It is indisputable that cultural equality and economic

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equality are interdependent. The former can only be realized as the latter is approximated. Hence the significance of the recent concentration of income and ownership in this nation. It means a stratified class culture. It means that the United States is beginning to repeat that particular aspect of European life of which it has been stridently critical, and is losing that equalitarian tone which was distinctive of its democracy. It cannot be denied that to an increasing section of the workers on the soil and in the city the door to the cultural life for their children is shut and barred. Those who survive the influence upon their tastes and standards of the press and the radio, if they are also physically strong enough to withstand the fatigue of monotonous, high-speed labor, may some of them still earn their way through college. But more of them will go as beneficiaries of endowments. Likewise those who prefer less stereotyped education will avail themselves of libraries, museums and lectures by the grace of charity. It is the same with religion. That, too, is dispensed as alms, not only to the unfortunate and inefficient but also to those who are where they are, as against the prosperous, simply because they or their parents came too late to share in the initial exploitation of the unparalleled natural resources of this continent. The con-

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trol of these resources, and of the trade and investment they made possible, by the successful, under the original American doctrine of freedom of opportunity, is the stern economic fact which determines the future of that doctrine.

To know how far it has been abandoned, it is necessary to estimate that intangible thing—public opinion. But there can be little doubt about the public temper since the war. The official hypothesis of the country, almost unanimously repeated by the press, is that the more money we let the successful money-makers acquire the better off we will all be. That is, the more inequality we have in economic control the more equality in all things else. Apparently this paradoxical dogma has been accepted with acquiescence by most of the people. At least they are supposed to be satisfied with the radios, cars, silk hosiery they are supposed to be owning. But if all of this should turn out to be something more than the illusions of a fool's paradise what does it mean in essence? If the greater part of the population of this free man's country is from now on to get more goods and culture only by grace of the captains of industry and finance, exactly as the underlying citizens of Germany got some of these things before the war by grace of Bismarck and the Kaiser as God-ap-

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pointed trustees of the new Teutonic capitalism, is not this clearly the reversal of the distinctive American process?

Heretofore it has been our boast that a man could get what he needed of the true values of life by his own effort, joined coöperatively with the efforts of others who were equally free and equally certain of being dependent upon their own initiative and of being assured the just results of its exercise. But now most of us are to be recipients of the overflowing productivity of those who have a genius for the making and care of money. Out of their magnanimity, and the intelligence of their self-interest, they will provide for the rest of us. It looks as though not the idle rich but the honest poor were from now on to be parasites. In any event, so far as it is accepted, to the degree that it is embodied in policy and law, this doctrine is the absolute denial of our original proclamation of equality of opportunity, the complete destruction of its practice. This is no sudden turn. The World War with its financial aftermath, made vocal the fact that we had been treading a new way of life ever since our free land, timber and minerals, came to an end. If this is the permanent trend, there can be no question but that it means decadence. If the children of those who once set up a new standard of freedom and equality, in terms of

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culture as well as politics, can be satisfied with the present equivalent of bread and circuses as a substitute for the control of their own development, it means that corruption has reached the heart of the democratic experiment and is not merely an excrescence on its skin.

That the situation has this ominous possibility is made clearer when we look at the state of freedom. There definite facts speak louder than in the matter of equality of cultural opportunity. The similarity in external appearance, the ease with which income and occupational differences are crossed in conversation, which so impress Europeans habituated to a world of status inherited from feudalism, carries with it no corresponding equality in control of government or of the means of livelihood. A discriminating visitor from across the sea recently remarked that our social attitudes were more, our institutions less, democratic than those of his country. It is increasingly difficult for the ordinary run of citizen to make himself effective in the machinery of politics. The net result of the company union schemes that have propagated themselves so abundantly since the war is to strengthen the control of industry by a paternalistic, financial oligarchy and so to make more difficult and costly a real sharing of power.

If there be doubt about this, there is certainly no

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question concerning what has been happening to those who seek to change our political and economic institutions in the direction of the original American ideals of freedom and equality. For them there are blacklists, injunctions, the fists, clubs and horses' hoofs of the police. If these prove insufficient, then there are frame-ups, long jail sentences, and in extremity, the electric chair. When the workers in our mines, mills and factories, true to the American tradition, try to push open the door of opportunity which they see closing against their children, they find behind that door all the powers of the government.

Since the War most of our states have passed laws which can be, and in some cases are, administered so as to prevent any advocacy of basic change in our political or economic institutions. These laws and this use of them have now been twice upheld by the Supreme Court, with a small dissenting minority. Since the war it has become the habitual practice of local officials in a number of industrial centers arbitrarily to forbid the exercise of the historic rights of free speech and then further brutally to break up peaceful assemblage for public protest against this and other administrative abuses. Again, the courts, instead of rebuking such unconstitutional tyranny, have given jail sentences to the defenders of our traditional freedom. It is true that a

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recent decision in New Jersey has put a stop to the use of the law regarding unlawful assembly to prevent peaceful protest against wrongs and emphatically affirms the necessity of the most liberal interpretation of the historic civil liberties. But in other industrial states the opposite practice and law continue. The denial of free speech is therefore now entrenched in legal precedent. The courts have torn up and thrown away the Bill of Rights and rewritten the Constitution. Jefferson and Lincoln are now only historic names. Their principles are enshrined for lip worship; they are no longer effective to charm away the demon of tyranny. In place of our supposed constitutional rights we have judge-made law, evolved by former corporation lawyers, whose aim and habit throughout their professional career has been not the preservation of freedom but the protection of property. Inevitably when these conflict they decide for the lesser value.

This loss of civil liberties is one of the two most significant and revealing trends in our recent public life. It cannot be dismissed as a temporary holdover of the supposedly necessary suppression of wartime. The war, through the Espionage Act, gave the legal precedent for later expansions of repression, but this, like the other determining development of recent history—our growing imperialism—is the result of a long continued

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concentration of ownership and income, accelerated by the enormous increase of financial wealth which the war brought in its train. The inevitable concomitant of this economic fact is that the propertied class should use the state wherever possible to prevent change in the property system and that the state should then use coercion, if necessary, to prevent advocacy of change. Here is the chief reason why liberty is now mutilated and sometimes killed in this land of the free. That is why Fascism has become the practice of some of those who denounce its rejection of democracy, that is why there are American citizens who will in private declare their belief that it is necessary for the salvation of this country.

The meaning of our recent and growing repression of historic civil liberties cannot be assessed by balancing against it any increase of comfort that has come to certain sections of the people. Judging from the apathy with which this destruction of a vital tradition has been viewed by the public, the police and the courts have behind them sufficient support to register a change in ideals. The desire for freedom of a revolutionary, pioneer stock in a land of opportunity is not that of a wealthy, capitalistic nation, rapidly becoming class-stratified. The ultimate significance of this lies in the future. If it registers a permanent change in the mind-

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set of this nation then the possibility of progress by way of the democratic process is ruled out, and only the way of conflict is left. The continuance of the use of coercion by the democratic state to prevent certain types of discussion of the distribution of economic power means that coercion will be used in the effort to secure and prevent that distribution.

To avert that contingency, already it is necessary to reverse two Supreme Court decisions and the decisions of several courts of last resort in several states. Most of the force of government and most of the power of law is now most of the time behind property rights, regardless of the results to freedom or social progress. This means that the weight of the American government is thrown a good deal of the time against the struggle of the masses for freedom and equality, to which purpose the government was once dedicated. If this tendency is not reversed it means that the democratic state has lost its function. It was to make possible social change without recourse to force and violence. In so far as it is now preventing discussion of change it is now making inevitable the use of force and violence to secure change. Indeed in many instances of current record it is itself the first to use the force and violence which it was supposed to make unnecessary. Thus does capitalistic society add to its distribution of bread and

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circuses in place of the rights of a free citizenship the use of another Pretorian Guard in the vain attempt to maintain power which has outlived its usefulness.

If this trend cannot be reversed before it gets too late, if education and religion can do no more to prevent this country from drifting into the class war than they did to keep it from being pulled into the World War, then the meaning of recent improvements in either our comforts or our institutions, will be to make the next advance in human life more costly than it would have been without them, because they increase both the destructiveness and the bitterness of the conflict. They mean more things to defend or to capture. Russia and China can pass into a coöperative economic order by way of civil warfare with less cost than Germany, Great Britain or the United States. Yet at present with us the economic world, with the state behind it, is definitely turning toward that catastrophe. The Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy cracked for a moment the crust of our sodden, guzzling complacency and showed those who have eyes to see the molten lava beneath. Education and religion are theoretically against the conflict method as a means to progress. What they are worth is now to be proved. Is there any evidence in the last decade that they have checked a trend which goes clearly against their basic purpose and which if it

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continues will nullify any other gains they may have made?

The inexorable fate of a class culture is to contribute to more of the people whatever gains it has wrought out in its course only through a conquest of power by the rising class. The only way it can avoid this fate is by becoming a universal culture, that is, by ceasing to be. If we want to know whether what we have here is merely another class culture which in time must go the way of its predecessors of the old world, we shall once more have to get the viewpoint of those who see us from without. It is at the point of our impact upon other peoples that the nature of our way of life is revealed. Civilization in an inter-communicating, inter-dependent world is henceforth universal and the measure of the culture of any particular people is those elements in their life which the other peoples recognize to have common worth.

A class culture is inevitably nationalistic and imperialistic. It asserts the same privileges against other nations abroad that it holds against other classes at home. It is either patronizing or aggressive, condescending or cruel, supercilious or blatant. In short, it is typically one hundred per cent American; it is America First; it is the supremacy of the White Nordic Protestant, or of the intelligent who have tested the

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intelligence of the others and signed the certificate of their own. But a manner of living that is entitled today to the name civilization must be part and parcel of the whole life and struggle of mankind. It must both draw from and pour into the common pool of resources for the development of the common life of man. It must be not only willing but anxious to universalize its gains, to share its experience and resources with all other peoples and in like manner to receive from them. Because we now live and move on the world stage we can no longer measure one sectional life against another under the term civilizations. They are but cultures, still predominantly local perhaps, but not exclusively so. Therefore the life of any people must now be measured by what it contributes to the rest of the life of man. No way of life that draws tribute from others, that waxes strong at the cost of making others weak, can henceforth be regarded as civilized, no matter what the state of its machinery, art, literature or religion. Imperialism is as barbarous now that the sun of world brotherhood is rising as was the plundering of the Goths when the sun of imperial Rome was setting.

What then is the significance of the fact that by the smaller nations to the south of us we are increasingly regarded as a menace? To an ever-growing num-

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ber of their people we are a great, predatory power, encroaching upon their freedom with our control and shaping their destiny in ways alien to their desire. This empire of trade and investment that desires no more territory yet must have its tribute. The demand for profit and interest is as inexorable as the requisition of the Roman tax-gatherer. We seek and get advantage, not the mutual pooling of effort and sharing of the increment resulting therefrom. Benevolent we may be as long as our paternalism is not resisted, but we still regard the resources of this continent, both natural and human, as our occasion for profit; and if our praiseworthy intentions are resisted, we can and do kill the rebels as relentlessly as Rome or Britain. On this basis what relations can develop between the peoples of this continent that are worthy of the name civilization? How can a world of mutual effort and sharing be built on investment for profit? The basic facts of economic exploitation and economic inequality will have the same effect in international relations that they have produced in this country in the contacts between the races. Desire it as we may, a warless, fraternal world remains as unrealized as the freedom and citizenship of the Negro so long as one people continues to use another for its economic advantage without an

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equivalent return. On that basis, all we can have is a class, a national, a racial culture with all the passion and strife that they breed.

This is still more evident when we look at our manner of life from the viewpoint of those on the other side of the world. Then we get a fuller estimate of the nature and worth of this particular development that we vain-gloriously call Western civilization, of whose essential features we are the chief exemplars and exponents. The wise men of the East are far enough away to see the whole of our life and not too far away to escape its impact. Moreover, plenty of them have been here to see and learn for themselves what manner of people we are, and to comprehend that which we call education and wisdom. To some of them we are still barbarians, destroying both nature and the past by the use of science for the sake of immediate satisfactions. To others, of more detachment, we are still essentially children playing ignorantly with dangerous toys, eager for motion and careless concerning its direction, more interested in becoming than in being, enjoying the means of life but not willing to wrestle with life itself, absorbed in particular problems but apathetic to human destiny.

To those who make this appraisal of us we are not yet a civilization but only the possibility of one. To

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realize this possibility we must acquire humility enough to learn from older peoples and grace enough to share with the rest of the world our capacities and the capital made possible by our exceptionally favorable environment. Yet it is against this course that we have recently been moving. Our recent development of investment imperialism and crass nationalism go in the opposite direction. They bring segregation and conflict, not fusion and coöperation. Moreover, the distinctive elements of early American life, its passion for freedom and equality, which have universal value and appeal, and which therefore are the qualities that fit us to take part in the development of a universal civilization, are precisely the qualities we have recently been losing. Without them what are we in the end but another imperialism which must give way to a civilization yet to be established on a different basis from profit?

There is another test which our own wisdom as well as that of the East is beginning to put to our manner of life. The essential characteristic of that manner of living which in the past has in common usage been called civilization, whether it was in China, Greece or Medieval Europe, is unity. Life was within the compass of a scheme; it had unity. Its relationships were ordered; there was a universal sense of status and obligation. But this is exactly what is lacking in the

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Western world, and most of all in these United States. And over its absence we even exult. The transition from the obligation of status to freedom of contract is hailed as a great step forward. Is not the road to the top always open for the most able? Let every one look out for himself and the common weal will automatically be taken care of! Let individual selfishness go its own way, within the limits of the criminal law, and social harmony will come without thought or effort, especially if we put the most potent curses on every proposal to improve life by ordered effort. The actual outcome of course is mostly chaos and conflict. We have not yet begun to make our civilization. We live in a disordered world, in a time and place too full of antagonisms.

The essence of harmony in those days and scenes where men achieved some unity of life was in the conjunction between the cultural and the economic aspects of living. In Greece the aristocracy of the intellect and the labor of the slaves were interwoven; in China the family determined both ethics and economics; in the high days of Medieval Europe feudalism gave everybody his place and duty in the common life for which they all lived. Today there is not only no plan, system or order over vast areas of our economic life save the control set up by organized greed, but our

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cultural life and our economic activities are proceeding by contrary principles. Democracy is the slogan of our culture, autocracy the dominant principle in our industrialism which comes increasingly within the grip of a financial oligarchy. The ethics of our professed religion is to love our neighbor as ourselves; the law of business enterprise is to make a profit out of him. Our political philosophy is rooted in freedom and equality, our industrial practice tends irresistibly toward monopoly and concentration of power. It is this basic conflict between our culture and our economic activities that tears our life asunder and leaves it broken and disordered. And this disorder again is at odds with the machine, which demands a technique of coördination. The condition of civilization for a machine age is social planning and social control. This will bring not only order where there is now chaos but spiritual unity where there is now warfare and anarchy. And since the power machine both makes possible and requires a world civilization this planning and control must be on a world scale.

Here is our test. If our economic philosophy and arrangements make for class culture and conflict they make also for nationalism and imperialism. In that case any gains which may be registered in a paper program against war, in the spread of education or the social-

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ization of religion are deficient in reality and will not show permanence. If these gains are to endure and continue, the economic forces must be brought into harmony with them, which means they have to be transformed from planless, divisive activities into ordered, integrating pursuits.

What evidence is there that in the last decade or two the people of the United States have addressed themselves to this basic problem of modern life? Everywhere, from child labor to electric power, the scant forces that seek the civilization which the machine makes possible are holding the trenches against the continuous assaults of greed and ignorance. Never was the philosophy of profit-seeking as the way to the Promised Land so vocal or so dominant in our public life. Never was our government so controlled by successful business enterprise nor our press so given over to money-making. When were the people so indifferent to their freedom? The days since the World War are, like those that followed our civil strife, the dark days of our record. In them we have been moving away from our early ideals and away from those by which alone a free and ordered, a just and fraternal world can be fashioned. A sophisticated, imperialist United States is more dangerous to the rest of mankind than one that was ignorant and isolated. It is too early yet to know

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whether these recent tendencies represent the real drift of the American current or are only a side eddy. If they continue there is history enough to read their meaning—they spell decadence once again. If this country is to contribute anything more toward progress it is necessary for it to apply its bent for invention to the discovering and developing of the forms of economic organization which will enable its original principles to be realized throughout its population and its genuine friendliness toward other nations to become a practical reality.

14. IS WESTERN CIVILIZATION WORTH
SAVING?

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14. IS WESTERN CIVILIZATION WORTH SAVING?

by PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP

THE path of history is strewn with dead civilizations. Today they are all as "a tale that is told." Each of them, it is true, has made its contribution to world-civilization, but the civilizations themselves are irrevocably gone. Each was in turn superseded and vanquished by another. Undoubtedly the "other one" just coming on was in each case considered by the momentarily existing and dominating civilization to be barbaric, really uncivilized, and altogether incapable of wielding the scepter. But this high-minded opinion which each momentarily ruling civilization had of itself did not turn back the advance of history. History moved on, and in spite of protests of dying civilizations the new came on and the old were swept away.

Wherein, then, consists the worth of any civilization? To say that it consists in its survival-competence would be to judge it merely from the standpoint of time. And yet the very question implies this element of time. But judgment of survival-competence can be passed safely only after a civilization has passed away. Unless, indeed, we can find another criterion! The best standard of civilization's worth would, of

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course, be an objective and absolute one. There may be such a standard, but, in the nature of the case, it cannot be known. That is to say, the limitations which our finite existence and nature place upon us make ultimate knowledge something which is altogether out of the question. There is, therefore, no sense in deceiving ourselves with the hope for an ultimate and objective standard. Whatever standard we shall accept must come out of the experience of mankind itself. With this explanatory word I shall proceed to state this criterion, attempt to justify it, and apply it to our present western civilization.

The worth of any civilization consists in its ability increasingly to understand and to further the conscious, subconscious, and unconscious purposes of the world-process. Since man is the highest product of the creative world-process, the worth of any civilization consists primarily in its ability to understand and to further the processes involved in the making and highest possible development of man and of human society, and secondarily, in its ability to understand and to further the processes of physical nature.

The statement that man is the highest and finest product of the world-process seems apparent and self-evident. But there is a tendency which charges such a position with being both anthropomorphic and un-

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scientific. We are told that in the light of scientific investigations and results man has shrunk to such a small and insignificant bit of dust that it is positively ridiculous to think of him any longer as anything particularly great or extraordinary.

If we speak of size or of quantity man, in the light of our new scientific world-outlook, has shriveled to an insignificant bit of almost invisible dust. But this is only one side of the story. The marvel is not nearly so much in the fact that man has been reduced to practically nothing but rather that man himself has developed the ability and capacity to discover and comprehend such a limitless universe. And the science which pushed out the borders and limits of our universe is itself the creation of man! The bigger science makes our outlook, the bigger man becomes. And the smaller man appears to himself, the more powerful the witness to the greatness of man who is able to grasp his own finite little place in the universe.

The next question, then, is this: *What is western civilization doing to understand and further the highest possible development of man?*

The optimist—and most men, especially in America, seem to be optimists—will at once want the privilege of the floor. He will say that man has made more progress in the last four or five decades than in all the

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previous time of his existence, certainly more than in all previous known history. He will point to the scientific, mechanical, industrial and economic achievements which surpass the most daring imagination of yesterday. He will call our attention to achievements of understanding such as those resulting from the ever more perfected educational systems and standards the world over, those of universal suffrage, or the governmental campaigns against illiteracy, of multiplied newspapers, magazines, and so forth. Beyond these he will point to the actual lengthening of the span of human life, to the conquest of disease, the shortening of the day of labor, and the consequent lengthening of the day for purposes of personal enrichment along physical, cultural or other digressional lines of activity; he will mention World Court, League of Nations, international amity, the gradual disappearance of such human curses as alcohol, the getting together of denominations and what not. In short, he will honestly and truthfully be able to say that no one man or even group of men could possibly enumerate in any short span of time all the well-nigh miraculous advances which we have made during the last generation. To all this he will add that the space of this advance is still on the increase, and he will speak the truth. And then he will say that all of this is for the benefit and progress

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of humankind. In closing his argument he will utter his disgust with any one who is so blind that he cannot see all these so very apparent benefits of western civilization, who will stop to ask such a foolish and senseless question as the one proposed by the title of this essay. And—with the exception of the last remark—I shall practically have to agree with him.

That is to say, the optimist has spoken the truth, but not all of the truth. There is distinctly another side to this story of man's unparalleled achievements. The fact is, the pessimist not only can tell, but has told us a story no less convincing and—strange to say—no less truthful. He points to the fact that after a century and a half of energy constantly directed toward the establishment, development, and safeguarding of the principle of democracy in government, one nation after the other of our enlightened European neighbors is turning back toward autocracy. He declares that the most deadly war, the most horrible spectacle of manslaughter, did not occur in yonder far-away days of barbarism and human savagery but in our own civilized twentieth century. He points out, as we have already admitted, that science, instead of putting man or the child "in the midst" is dehumanizing the universe in behalf of unknown quantities. He calls our attention to the fact that the more civilized

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we become, the more crimes we seem to commit. That the home, the family-life, the rearing of children is breaking down. That education is mass-instruction with its attendant necessities of losing sight of the individual and therefore of the only thing which can really be educated, namely, the personality. That, everywhere, we are putting quantity in place of quality, whether it be in industry, agriculture, or education. That we are insisting on tuning things down to the average instead of drawing them up to perfection and excellence. That we have first—as a result of our one-sided emphasis on natural science and so-called scientific method—lost our heart, and that now—as a result of being faced with some of the most horrible conditions that mankind has ever had to face, and most of which are the inevitable consequences of our own misdirected emphasis and activities—we are about to lose our head as well. That we have not had a will anyway for such a long time that we have practically forgotten what it is like, except the will to fool and deceive ourselves.

No wonder that the voices of pessimism which were but few a number of years ago are swelling into an ever mightier chorus. Voices among which must be counted such names as those of Bertrand Russell, Oswald Spengler, Dean Inge, Albert Schweitzer, Edward Carpenter, Upton Sinclair, H. L. Mencken, and Sinclair

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Lewis. One of our own Americans has recently pointed out that among lower nervous organizations the spirit of pioneering, of adventure and discovery dies out; that such organizations are dependent and seek uniformity; that they huddle together in cities and expect the government to "love, cherish, and protect" them; that such life characterized not only Rome in the days of its decline, but characterizes the English-speaking race today.

This is a strong and very pertinent way of putting it. It certainly lays its hands on the sore spot of our present emphasis on things of material comfort and on the lack of interest in the higher and more truly human aspirations and ideals. It realizes that civilization, to be able to advance, must be centered around man. Not simply in providing more things and more material comfort for man, but in the sense of pushing him onward to greater achievement in the most truly human realms. Seeing, moreover, that western civilization is neglecting this latter kind of advance and striving and is enthralled by mere things, it frankly "throws up the sponge" and surrenders the case as lost. It is hardly possible for men with their eyes open to deny that western civilization is on the crest of a wave of materialism the equal of which the world has never seen.

Let us briefly look at some of the ways in which the

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decay appears today. Instead of speaking of a large number of things, I want to limit myself to a few fields in which I can speak from the inside and therefore with at least some authority. There are two fields especially which are of the highest importance: education and religion.

The outstanding charges against education and religion can be put in very brief fashion. Both religion and education (lower as well as higher) have become almost wholly institutionalized. And institutions (when old and respected—not to say “respectable”!) seem to be interested in only two things which are really identical, self-perpetuation and the perpetuation of the status quo in everything around them.

Are there any agencies of human life and endeavor which more rightfully should be and could be expected to be the fearless guides into the new and unknown than education and religion? Nevertheless these very two have come to be, on the whole, the most powerful enemies and retarders of human progress and advance.

I say “have come to be” and not “are.” There is a vast difference between these two assertions. Religion and education are not in themselves the enemies of progress. They are the most obvious banner-carriers and vanguards of progress. But what religion and education have come to be is a very different thing.

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Take but one aspect of contemporary religion—and one with which every school-boy in America has some sort of familiarity—fundamentalism. Fundamentalism is at heart nothing but the fear of being free as the sons of God. It means being afraid to walk out into the world as men and women of this age to conquer it for the best and the truest in human life with today's knowledge and methods and outlook. It is the fear to stand on one's own feet and the insistence that we must have the authority of hoary age. It implies the absurd notion of a God who spoke twenty centuries ago, and having had his say has nothing more to tell his children of the twentieth century. Modernism, on the contrary, believes in a God who is active in his world today and who speaks just as authoritatively and helpfully (through men) in the twentieth century as ever he spoke in the first. The fundamentalists have bowed God out of our modern, contemporary world. All they are willing to admit is his word of long ago. But they are afraid of God himself. Like the children of Israel at Mount Sinai they would rather have Moses speak to them than God. Fundamentalism is a backward-looking religion, while true religion is always progressive and forward-looking. Fundamentalism cannot help retard human progress and advance.

Fundamentalism is to be found in many other fields

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of human interest and endeavor besides religion. In politics we ordinarily call it "stand-pattism." Here we say: "Let well enough alone!" or "Prosperity!" We are not given to trying anything new in politics, for, while we admit that our politics are "rotten," we at least know what we are getting while to try something new means to step out on faith "not knowing whither we are going." Few are willing to take such risks in politics any more than in religion. Is there any difference between the two attitudes? There are many more fundamentalists (of a political, social, or industrial kind) in America, than we imagine.

Nor is education free from the same charge. Our age has called upon education to "maintain the status quo." The educator who dares to show the road ahead or to blaze a new trail is quite generally "undesirable" and soon finds himself looking for a new position. Recall such cases as those of former Presidents Meiklejohn of Amherst and Suzzallo of the University of Washington! The economist and the historian have to be as much stand-patters today as the teacher of religion and of philosophy had to be yesterday. Many colleges and universities have now granted absolute freedom of teaching in religion and in philosophy but are exceedingly afraid in economics or in history. These schools are perfectly willing to disregard the religious

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fanatic or stand-patter, but they dare not yet face the protest of a suspicious public which sees treason to the nation lurking behind every statement of historic truth. Witness, for example, the drive against certain textbooks in history in our public schools. The argument against these books is not that they do not tell the truth, but that—telling the truth—they do not make for “patriotism.”

In other words, we are more interested in preserving the status quo, in pouring everybody into the same mold, than we are in finding the truth and telling it. This is fundamentalism in education with a vengeance. And there is enough of it to warrant the charge that education, too, has come to be one of the most dangerous foes of progress.

Furthermore, since the war we have been thrown into mass-production in education. The greatness of a university is judged by the number of students enrolled. Time was when students were attracted by great teachers and scholars. The thing that seems to count now is student enrollment, physical equipment (buildings, etc.) and the reported social life on the campus: dancing, smoking, petting parties and the like. Students who flock to these “great” universities (which are really only large) usually go through the mill and after their four years of “experience” (of various kinds!) are

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“turned out” often worse financially, morally, intellectually and religiously than they went in. And this we proudly hail as the higher education of the world’s most intellectual century! What a farce!

Thus one might go on—endlessly. But there is no need of further reiteration. Suffice it here to ask: Wherein is our gain?

First of all, in a commercializing and materializing of everything which once was sacred, lofty, and sublime. Our chief measure of values has come to be the almighty dollar. This is an inevitable result of our insipid over-emphasis on things.

Secondly, in an emphasis upon material comforts to the appalling exclusion of mental effort. On this point one of our great editors reminds us that Americans have more comforts and conveniences than were to be found in the courts of kings and of emperors two centuries ago. Instead of setting us free to accomplish more intellectually and morally this has led to the all but complete abdication of thought and reason. Newspapers and movies have become the sources of our information and understanding.

Next, in an emphasis upon rapidity of motion. This is such an obvious fact in our modern life that it seems superfluous to talk about it. One should imagine that this would enable one to live a more serviceable and

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helpful, and therefore a richer and more abundant, life. On the contrary, it gives us the appearance of being busier, though we are not getting anything done that is intrinsically worth while. Nothing but lost motion. We are in the plight of the man in the rag-time hit: "I don't know where I'm going, but I'm on my way."

What is true of transportation is true of our methods of communication. The telephone, telegraph, wireless, and radio, make possible an uncanny speed of communication. But what is it that we have to communicate? Stock and bond quotations, football scores, World Series results, jazz-music, and bedtime stories. Once in a great while we get an opera star over the radio, and once in a greater while we may possibly hear a lecture worth listening to, but such occasions are merely the proverbial exceptions which prove the rule. Professor Craig, head of the English department of the State University of Iowa, has recently been reported as saying: "Plato and Aristotle did not have long distance telephones or radio to talk from New York to San Francisco, but they had infinitely more worth-while things to say than we have."

If to all this we add our wholesale methods of human slaughter by poison-gas and similar scientific achievements, and the distressing fact that the very

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creations of the human mind often turn on their creator and annihilate him, the dark and gloomy picture is nearly complete. Can man then really stand the phenomenal increase of power which modern science has given him, or will he—in playing with it as the child plays with a match—destroy himself? Certainly science itself has no answer to this question. The answer depends on something altogether different. Is man enough of a man, is he moral enough, is he spiritual enough, to use his new power in man's behalf rather than to misuse it? This is the question. Who dares to answer it?

The story is dark and awesome. But the responsibility for its gloominess lies with man himself. If western civilization does not offer a bright and wholesome view, let us not blame some far-away deity for its failures and decay. Western civilization is what Occidental humanity has made it. In its time it has been a fine flower of human achievement. If it is that no longer we have none to blame but ourselves. Makers of civilization that we are, we are also the breakers of it. And it should be clear that when a civilization is decaying, to preserve it would be to permit it to annihilate man himself.

To put the problem a little differently, no civilization

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can ultimately endure which fails to emphasize the most truly *human* sides of man and of civilization.

For civilization itself is only a human achievement and if man fails to emphasize its source and the basic conditions of its existence—namely man himself and his fundamentally human nature—it cannot but totter and fall.

Materialism is putting the emphasis on that which may be human but which is not the primary, not the most important, factor in human life. That which is most distinctively human in us is not our body, however highly we may prize it. There is, of course, no escaping the fact that as to our body, we belong wholly and completely in the animal realm. But the things which cause us to be like the animals are not the things which cause us to be different from the animals. The distinctively and peculiarly human characteristics of man, therefore, need not be looked for in the purely animal side of man—Watson to the contrary notwithstanding. What differentiates man from everything else is his power of reflective thinking, his intellectual, spiritual, moral, religious nature, his mind, soul, self, ego, consciousness or whatever you care to call it. I'll not dispute the name, but I will insist on the fact. It is strange that a man should ever be called upon to insist on the

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one fact of his experience which is the most obvious and distinctive of all, even if this fact does not lend itself to the analysis of the microscope, the test-tube, or the telescope. For why should man ever refuse to acknowledge the one fact in his life which lifts him out of the realm of "mere things," even if he cannot scientifically explain this fact? For if he really follows the spirit of science, he must admit the presence of all available facts and data whether or not he is able definitely and scientifically to account for them. That the intellectual-moral-spiritual-religious side of man is his most characteristic possession, certainly no one but a fool would deny.

Now it is precisely this most distinctively human factor which western civilization has been setting aside, putting things instead in the center of human striving. As Mr. Strauss recently put it: "Things are in the saddle!" We have been selling our human birthright to the things of the mind and of the spirit for the mess of pottage of material achievements and mechanical accomplishments.

Whatever of hope there may be for western civilization cannot be found in any belief in inevitable progress and certainly not in the vain arrogance of a Nordic supremacy complex. We are no more the chosen people of any deity playing favorites than any other

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nationality or race, past or present. We are chosen as were the Hebrews only in so far as we lose ourselves in these activities and tasks which, in the nature of the world-process or, if you will, of the divine purpose, carry on the constant evolution of world-creation. In so far as we block the road of that process, we must expect it to overrule and overpower and, if need be, ultimately to annihilate us—not as the punishment of an angry God, but as the inevitable consequence of ignorance, unwillingness or inability to learn the workings of the world-process.

We have long recognized the folly underlying the “divine right of kings” and we must realize as equally fallacious the assumption of a “divine right of nations or races.” We have the “divine right” of existence as long as we play the game according to the rules. We have the achieved right of governing as long as we play the game better than anybody else. We can temporarily hold the title of world-champion. But we cannot usurp such a place of power and prominence for any unlimited period. Sooner or later the world-champion weakens and makes room for another, a younger and stronger one. If civilization ceases to be a saving power in and for humanity, it is not only natural to expect it to be pushed aside, but for the welfare of humanity as such it is necessary to do so. In other

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words, if we are surpassed by higher and better, because more truly human, civilizations we have none to blame but ourselves.

The more we close our eyes to these facts, the more certain and the more quickly the debacle is bound to come. That the decline is already a fact few would attempt to dispute. On the other hand, the more we realize our precarious situation, the more conscious we are of our stewardship and world-responsibility, the more capable shall we be of occupying a leading position among the nations of the world.

The important thing for us at this time is the return to a new emphasis on the humanities which might stave off the debacle of western civilization a little longer. Nothing can be reached by a continued one-sided emphasis on the physical sciences but the impasse of a pure mechanism and with it the ruin of western culture. For the salvation of the western world there is needed a good dose of the quietistic reflection and self-control of the Oriental mind, even as the Oriental cannot hope to survive unless he adopts something of the mechanical achievement of the Occidental. In other words, we need not merely respect for the distinctive features and characteristics of the cultures which digress fundamentally from our own, but the realization that each must learn from the other. And

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the acknowledgment that only by a reciprocal approach and a filling up of the gaps of our own character can we hope to "hang on." As Max Scheler and Count Keyserling have put it, what is needed is "a reconciliation between the Occidental and the Oriental cultural hemispheres." Thus, perhaps, the western man may once again find his soul and survive.

15. AN ORIENTAL EVALUATION OF MOD-
ERN CIVILIZATION

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15. AN ORIENTAL EVALUATION OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

by MASAHARU ANESAKI

BY modern civilization is meant the stupendous stream of ideas and forces flowing out of Europe these three centuries or four and now flooding the whole world. It may be called Occidental, according to long usage, since not only its origin but its stronghold is in Western Europe with a powerful branch in America. The counterpart is Oriental, including nearly the whole of Asia, though its civilization has never been so homogeneous and united as that of the West and is now no match for the latter in its domination. Moreover, Asia has been overrun by Europe, first by the latter's political and commercial aggression, then by its science and art and social and industrial organizations, and finally even in clothes and customs, including the radio, the cinema, chewing gum, and bobbed hair. Thus Occidental civilization is now no more a term of geographical distinction, though of course the Orient still keeps something of its old heritage and is partially trying to resist the new overwhelming force.

In view of this situation and in considering that the West was not always the West as we see it today, we might take another criterion of distinction according

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to the ages and designate the subject of the present discussion as modern, in contradistinction to medieval. This designation is not a mere chronological one but indicates an ample characterization pretty well coinciding with the accepted distinction of Occidental and Oriental.

Leaving discussion of these designations for a time, let us consider another point of view, the characterization of each stream or system of civilization according to the religion which is assumed to have inspired its ideas and forces. Viewed from this angle Occidental civilization or culture is certainly Christian, while Oriental is largely Buddhistic, and partly Brahmanic and Confucian, in distinction to Mohammedan. No one would hesitate to say that Andrew Carnegie was a Christian gentleman; similarly it goes without saying that Francis of Assisi was a Christian saint. Further, it would not need argument or elucidation to say that each of these two great names represented the best and characteristic features of the civilization of his own century and country. On the other hand, however, no one could fail to recognize the difference between the two. An enormous accumulation of wealth on the one side, and the ideal and practice of non-possession on the other; the will to lead and benefit others by one's own power on the basis of his own ideal, on the one side,

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and the thorough self-denial and dedication of everything, even life and being, to a higher will, on the other. More could be adduced to illustrate the marked difference between the two personalities cited. It may be true that both were inspired by faith in God and therefore were Christian, but it would be too all-inclusive to say that the cultures of the thirteenth century and of the nineteenth so well exemplified by these two figures respectively are the same, and should be designated as Christian and Occidental in contrast to Buddhist and Oriental. Kaiser Wilhelm was perhaps sincere, even enthusiastic, in believing himself representative of Christian faith and culture in his *Weltpolitik*, in his guidance of German Kultur, including the sciences, arts, industries, armaments, and what not. In this he may have had something in common with some popes of the middle ages. Certain similarities between the two could not be denied. Yet would it be sound to regard German Kultur under the Kaiser and medieval civilization under the Papacy simply as Christian? Suffice it to say that the designation of Christian civilization as synonymous with Occidental is inexact and often misleading.

Turning to the question of heritage, every one knows that Western civilization of today is the heir to the Hebraic-Christian religion, to the philosophical and

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artistic genius of Hellas, to the legal ideas of Rome, and lastly to the Teutonic spirit of vigor and liberty. But as genealogy alone does not determine the nature of an individual, inheritance alone does not give a vital clew to the understanding or evaluation of a civilization. A more important point is the question of the motive forces and dominant ideas, including their origin and the circumstances of growth. Modern civilization of the Occident is marked by new forces and conditions quite distinct from medieval; and these new factors almost obliterate the continuity of Western culture as Christian or otherwise. Further, though originating in the West, modern civilization is taking hold of the whole world without regard to locality or race. It is certainly partially Christian or Greco-Roman but the vital problem lies elsewhere. It may be, as some thinkers insist, Teutonic or Nordic from the point of view of its chief bearer. Yet it is not exclusively so in origin or growth, much less so in its present complexity and future.

These considerations lead us to discard the various designations of our subject and to call it simply modern civilization, primarily in contradistinction to medieval but not simply in the chronological sense. In order to elucidate our point let us take one idea, the idea of Progress. This word is almost an obsession to

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the modern man; he assumes progress as a matter self-evident in the course of human history. Its associates are advance, gain, reform, improvement, development, and so on. Modern man has almost forgotten, or remained wholly ignorant of, the fact that this high-sounding word has never played such a rôle in any other age or branch of human history. Leaving aside Asiatic peoples, have either Greeks or Romans or medievals ever believed in a necessary process of progress? On the contrary, involution or eternal recurrence, fate or providence was the ruling idea. Even providence, whether in the eschatological sense or understood as predestination, never bore the connotation of progress, the progress of human affairs in this actual world and chiefly through human effort. We are here not concerned with the exact origin of this idea, nor with its ideological formulation, but merely wish to emphasize that its rise was concomitant with the rise of modern civilization. Not for reviewing the history but for pointing out the motive forces, let us recall this early "modern" period, the Renaissance, the discoveries, the Reformation, followed by the political and industrial revolutions. It might well be remembered that the so-called Nordics had little part in the first two of these movements and appeared on the stage later than the Mediterraneans. This is a side issue ad-

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duced just in order to refute a pretentious racial theory of civilization. At any rate, Progress was the motto summing up the spirit of the new age, manifesting itself in the adoration of man beside, or often to the exclusion of, God, which culminated in Rationalism and the *Aufklärung*. This spirit of the self-exaltation of man was enhanced by the expansion of the human abode, by the advance of human control which culminated in the industrial revolution. Thus came the age of the "conquest of Nature" which was stimulated and supported by the exaltation of the individual, an implication of the religious Reformation and a corollary to the denial of divine authority.

The necessary condition of Progress is Activity consisting in zeal and effort to the neglect of any supernatural help or divine mercy. Its associate is Freedom, its symbol Electricity, and its manifestation Speed. The Hindus conceived a pretty high speed, *mano-javas*, the speed of idea traversing the gigantic universe in a *kshana* (second or moment), but it was merely ideal. The speed of cherubim or of Pegasus, equally imaginary, is no match for the actual speed of the flying machine today, not to speak of the cinematographic apparatus taking many images in a second. This is merely an instance of the speed achieved nowadays, but a more important factor in contemporary life is the

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frenzy for speed, which is an integral part of the life and mental habit of modern man. He is eager to secure speed, often to no purpose and sometimes to the neglect of everything else. This is true not only in the land of the smart Yankee but in the Orient also, where a Buddhist abbot in a motor-car making a speed of sixty miles is not a rare sight.

Similarly with Freedom which got its start in the political arena and is now working to emancipate mankind from any bondage which would put restrictions upon human activity. Freedom of thought and action, emancipation from authorities and traditions, all this is transforming all aspects of life. It is a difficult question to determine what real freedom is, or how much of it has been secured since the dawn of the modern age. But the point here is rather the strength of the aspiration than the actual attainment. The modern age has indeed struck off many fetters of social and intellectual convention, but the new social conditions have produced other restrictions to keep order in the more complicated society. Yet the great thing is that modern man is acutely conscious of his freedom and of his right to it. It seems a paradox that the United States, the freest of nations, is the most abundantly law-making nation. Yet the American people are proud of their freedom because they think that those laws, even the

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very exacting ones, are made by themselves. At any rate freedom is a dominant temper of the modern man and his activity would be much restricted without the consciousness of freedom.

Another feature of this civilization is the superabundance of machine-made goods, implying an enormous extension of distribution and consumption unparalleled in human history. Lancashire and Pittsburgh are no longer unique; there are rising Manchesters and Essens in Asia and elsewhere. In every town of the world there is a Wanamaker or Woolworth, large or small according to circumstances. These are cited not for discussing the merits or demerits of the situation but for illustrating the actual state of modern civilization spreading out into many quarters of the globe and tending to minimize local differences.

These are some of the outstanding features of the modern world in differentiation from the medieval. The situation may be stated in another way. Very few would object to enumerating Science, Industry, and Democracy as the dominant forces of modern civilization. These three are, of course, inseparably interwoven with each other, both in origin and in development. Let us examine them briefly.

In Science one fundamental point is inherited from Greece, that is the esteem of knowledge for the sake

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of knowledge. This was an inspiration in the Renaissance, which gradually transformed the impulse of curiosity into the spirit of critical examination and systematic experimentation. What a contrast to the Christian idea of faith and the medieval dependence on authorities! In the realm of faith and authority there is perfection to be aimed at, but preëxistent to human experience. On the other side modern science knows nothing of, would not like to think of, a pre-established perfection; it rejects tradition and dogma and goes on in search and quest of new truths. In this there is progress only, not perfection; gradual discoveries only, not revelations *en bloc*. Thus modern science has not only superseded the medieval conception of knowledge, but proceeded to the adoration of nature and to the glorification of human capabilities, first of reason and then of all other powers. This, in turn, involves the enhancement of human activity not only in thinking and researches but in the realm of practical utility also.

Thus Industry is an outcome of Science, and the latter is again being stimulated and fed by the needs of the former. Modern industry is characterized by its extensive use of powerful machines, something demoniac to the eyes of a Cistercian monk or even of Dr. Faustus. Against this John Ruskin's vehement protest proved

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futile and Mahatma Gandhi's zeal will perhaps be defeated. It may be of some interest in this connection to cite Lafcadio Hearn, the profound romantic interpreter of the Japanese soul. When a pupil of his had expressed his desire of studying philology, he wrote to the boy: "I am always glad to hear of a student studying engineering, architecture, medicine, or any other branch of applied science. I do not like to see all the fine boys turning to the study of Law, instead of to the study of science or technology. . . . What Japan needs are scientific men; and she will need more and more of them every year."¹ This is indeed quite contrary to what one might expect of a man of Hearn's type and it is only an instance showing how irresistibly modern industry is making its impact upon the life of Asia.

Leaving aside the questions of capitalism and labor movements, all consequent upon the industrial revolution, it requires no great perspicacity to see in this a powerful impetus to the rise of the people—democracy in a broader sense. The equality of all people before one and the same Father is the ideal of Christianity, but it has ever remained an ideal until the end of the eighteenth century, when the political revolutions in America and in France made a great stride in that di-

¹ *Some New Letters and Writings of Lafcadio Hearn*, p. 198.

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rection. Even then, however, the idea of equality played not so much a part in the social and economic life as in the political. The Marxists are perhaps right when they say that those political revolutions were a sham and did not achieve a real emancipation of the people. Whatever this emancipation may mean, the rise of democracy was concomitant with the awakening of the people to their own power, first politically and then economically. Not that economic prosperity is the only determining condition of democracy, but that economic ambition of the people resulting from modern industry is a powerful stimulant to their demand for more equality in every way. Whatever the Nordic theorists may say of American democracy, it is certain that they could not resist the rising demands of the non-Nordics in the United States living under common economic conditions and convinced of their equal rights in the pursuit of happiness. The economic, social, political, and other aspects of democratic equality do not necessarily go together. Yet it is evident that a glaring inequality in one respect cannot stand side by side with a fairly well-established equality in another. Modern man cannot tolerate actual inequalities by putting faith in the promised equality in heaven.

Progress, Activity, Freedom, Utility, these are the chief features, and Science, Industry, Democracy, the

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motive forces of modern civilization. So far these have been reviewed in brief, not so much for examining achievements or defects as for getting a general view of the leading traits. Now the latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a flourishing period of that civilization called modern, not only exhibiting its flowers and fruits in the West but also spreading its roots and branches to the East. A few wars in that period were mere mistletoes on the branches. The gigantic tree was vigorous and blossoming. Many men and women who thronged to the Grand Exhibition at Paris in 1900 could now recall what a great impression was made on them by the numbers 1900 shining in the Château d'Eau under the illumination of the Tour Eiffel.

Then think of today, after a little more than a quarter of a century. The dropping of several crowns may not mean very much for the course of civilization. Yet general unrest is undeniable; the great challenge or threat is directed against capitalism, a fruit of modern civilization; a world-wide revolution, social and economic first but involving the whole of human life, is becoming a great inspiration to the Marxists; the fate of the Occident is questioned not only by the Orientals but even by the former champions of the Occident; questions are raised as to whether Christianity is losing

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its fundamentals, whether America is safe for democracy, and so on. No doubt there are many signs of new life in the world, yet evidently modern civilization as represented by the West is no more so self-contented and optimistic as it was thirty years ago. Has, as the Spenglers think, the summertime of Occidental culture passed, is its autumn coming to be followed by winter blasts?

Now let us see whether there are any signs of decay in modern civilization. The enthusiasm for progress has no limit, because every zenith reached reveals further horizons. But can human nature be indefinitely satisfied by an endless pursuit without goal? May not the story of the Flying Dutchman be applied to the present situation? Pursuit of happiness is certainly a vital incentive to life, and in the present condition of modern civilization activity has become happiness in itself. Yet happiness is an extremely fugitive figure, the more so in an age of speed. No need of enumerating jazz bands, cubist pictures, agitating demonstrations of all kinds, anything and everything exciting. Many of those signs are certainly a part of the aftermath of the Great War but there is something more and deeper lying in the situation which was discernible even before the war and seems to last longer than this tempo-

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rary disturbance. May all this not be a manifestation of the strained situation in which modern man is put, just on account of the progress achieved? Even without approving John Ruskin's contentions, every one can see evils in the mechanization of life. Man has made machines for himself but is becoming himself a tool of the machines. If this dictum be not wholly true, no one would dare to deny it entirely. Beside the tool-like position in which the average workman finds himself, nearly every man and woman nowadays lives more or less under the control, often tyranny, of mechanized devices or organizations. Quite naturally the human impulse for freedom takes its revenge; the frenzy for activity and speed seems to be partially a manifestation of this spirit of revolt.

But the logic of human life does not stop here. Activity accelerates speed, but human life, both individual and social, can never be speeded up in the same manner as its mechanic apparatus. Its physiological conditions remain the same; mental development cannot be quickened beyond a certain limit; instincts and inertia of habits, as well as racial heritages and social traditions, do not change as fast and freely as the tangible manifestations of civilization. Modern man finds himself in a strait washed by a strong current yet resisted by hard rocks at the basin. Hence the whirlpools of

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excitability and impatience. Quick temper may be a sign of youth in a young nation like America; but which nation, however old, can now be free from it? Not only the older nations of Europe but the much older ones of Asia are sharing in this conflict of inertia and speed. Ranging from cinema or Charleston dance to K.K.K. or Bolshevik revolution, everything "modern" is marked by impatient short-cuts. Quite naturally, many thinking people ask how far shall this go, and how far can mankind stand this strain. One need not be pessimistic; the human body can stand strain and hardships much more than we usually imagine, and human society is elastic and resourceful immensely more than its individual members. Yet every one must concede that this is an age of problems and that the most conspicuous of these is concerned with the general impatient mood of the age.

Evidently agility and quick temper are always contrary to the aristocratic spirit and a natural product or mark of a democratic régime. Democracy is a powerful factor of modern civilization exalting the aspiration for freedom and equality. This aspiration is now being more and more directed to the economic aspects of life, quite naturally a consequence of the superabundance of supply and conveniences of all kinds. Demand and supply, desire and stimulus, wants

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and means, these increase mutually, and many people are wholly absorbed in a pursuit of happiness, which consists chiefly in comfort and luxury. Not that aristocracy is free from this tendency, but that democracy supported by modern industry has made this universal, often accelerated to a degree of mob-psychological frenzy. The average modern man could hardly tell whether he is pursuing happiness with a definite aim or is happy in the pursuit itself without any view of the end. Christian hymnology still preserves many terms like heavenly peace, eternal bliss, everlasting glory, and so on; but the figure of a highly pious person born for heaven and singing "holy, holy" forever and ever is nothing but a caricature to modern eyes. Very few people today would care to ask where we are going or what we are living for. It is foolish to put these questions to the walkers in Fifth Avenue, yet it is certainly desirable or necessary to discuss them in church or college seminar. In short, our question is what is or ought to be the meaning of all the manifestations of modern civilization.

For finding a pathway or rather opening a high-road out of the present strait, several opposites may be considered. We have above referred to the medieval ideal of perfection in contradistinction to the modern one of progress; similar ones could be cited, such as

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repose and composure, instead of activity and speed, bliss, against mere utility, faith, against experimentation, authority, against freedom. Every one of these certainly has some bearing upon the present situation. What the Roman Catholic Church stands for in condemning "modernism" represents fundamentally the attitude of denouncing the tendencies of modern civilization such as free activity, the spirit of experimentation (often branded as destructive criticism), and the idea of renovation tending to revolution. The rise of the more or less mystic Christian Science in the stronghold of Puritanism; the relatively easy acceptance found in America by Yoga, Vedanta, or Couéism; the seemingly remarkable revival of ancient Shinto ideas in Japan, the most modern nation of the East; these and many other similar phenomena are certainly reactionary. The word "reactionary" in a case like this is usually used to denote a quite transient phase of set-back in the larger process of progress. But can all these reactionary movements be so lightly disposed of as nothing but ephemeral? Even if so, who can, on the other side, be sure that "progress" is not so? If Gandhi's spinning-wheel be ephemeral, may the British rule of India be everlasting—ephemeral or eternal in the sense of duration, in the sense of depth and extent, in the sense of moral and social values? When the power of instinct

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revolts against the control of reason, it is certainly reactionary but it can have a meaning more than ephemeral. Similarly, when an old national heritage reacts against a newly introduced culture, the reactionary force is not necessarily transient. Considering these things, what have we to discern in the movements, whether progressive or reactionary, in modern civilization?

Arriving at this point let us again refer to the contrast between medieval and modern, Oriental and Occidental, implying various other aspects of antithesis. Apparently these contrasting terms represent quite different moods and tendencies hardly to be reconciled; yet we have to ask whether or not human life contains both of these two contrary forces, whether or not human history shows alternate ebbs and floods of opposite tendencies. Indeed human life is full of paradoxes and one of these is that seemingly contradictory forces often, if not always, supplement each other. Activity and repose follow one after another just as day and night, if not so regularly. Were not Jesus' quiet days in Galilee preparatory to his entry into Jerusalem? Were George Washington's reposeful years in Mount Vernon a contradiction to his life's work? Not only an alternate sequence of this kind but correlative mutuality is often a significant way of two different forces

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working for one and the same end. Every one knows that bodily development cannot be wholesome without a close and simultaneous functioning of nutrition and oxidation, of metabolism and catabolism; the reason and the instincts often come into conflict, yet the former is a cold locomotive without the heating of the latter, while the instinct alone is burning gasoline without the machinery; the prayerful piety of a saint is never a contradiction to his ardent work of charity, while the fervent zeal of a propagandist is a clanging cymbal without a union of his soul with divinity in pious devotion.

Perhaps we have dwelt a little too much on analogies. However, we deem these not mere analogies but significant facts indicating a scheme of cosmic life. We do not mean to over-generalize or to establish a Hegelian metaphysics, but wish to see many an antithesis in human life emanating from one and the same source and pointing to a common aim. This reminds us of the words of the Apostle Paul when he says: "I know how to be abased, and I know also how to abound; in everything and in all things have I learned the secret both to be filled and to be hungry, both to abound and to be in want." Let us, in the light of antithesis and synthesis, see in the present situation of modern civilization a rise of the demand for something lying

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beneath the change and progress on the surface. The sense of social solidarity is the foremost among the signs. There is no need of tracing the development of this sense from the primitive tribal group, the family, the clan, to the nation, the race, and finally to the fraternity of all mankind, whether in a religious sense, political, economic, or otherwise. The international society of Europe more or less realized in the Middle Ages has been much broken up, but it is not only being ideally inherited but now fostered and extended by the various forces of modern civilization. However one might criticize the League of Nations, no one could deny that it means something as a manifestation of the aspiration for an international society. Besides, there are many embodiments of world-wide solidarity, such as unions of artists or poets, coöperations among the scientists, federations of religious bodies, international fight against diseases. Instances may be multiplied almost indefinitely, ranging from various connections established on abstract ideals to many organizations for concrete and definite work. These are based on the same principle of human solidarity and all are outcomes of the aspiration for realizing the oneness of life among human beings. One might ask which is stronger or closer, the solidarity of Hindu society knit by religion and caste, or that of the modern working class

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united in their interests and class-consciousness; the solidarity of a tribal community based on the sense of consanguinity and sanctioned by rites and customs, or that of the modern community furnished with a common water supply, district heating, telephone, schools and libraries. In some respects the primitive or ancient society has stronger ties than the modern. But it is evident that the former was based chiefly on natural or instinctive ties, while the legal, or "contractual," solidarity has proceeded from national to international society, and the rise of the universal religions made possible a solidarity on the basis of faith and ideals. Is it not the mission of modern civilization to bring to full light and force all these ties of social solidarity and achieve a democratic community of human brotherhood?

The present status of human solidarity has been made possible partly through the world-wide extension of the physical and spiritual links established and stimulated by the free communication and intercourse of the peoples of the world, thanks to the benefit bestowed by modern civilization. The frequent contact of races and nations involves the possibilities of friction and conflict, but this inevitable evil is being partially balanced by the brighter aspect of human contact as stated above. Pros and cons can be cited and at present

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it seems not quite easy to weigh them in the balance. Yet it is undeniable that the vista of mankind as regards its sense of interrelation and solidarity has been much extended and deepened in these three centuries. The civilization whose stage was around the Mediterranean stepped forward to the one around the Atlantic, and now many people see that the Pacific is becoming a lake of the civilized world. Even admitting some threatening signs in the Pacific one should not lose sight of the other sides too. As a problem of peace or war there may come up a Rome and Carthage in the Pacific but who shall deny the possibility of an age of *pax dei* around that ocean? Anyway the extension of the human community and the deepening of the sense of solidarity are a product of modern civilization which is to be supplemented and edified by the higher ideal of humanity. It can never be a simple return to the Christian ecclesiastical unity of medieval Europe but the goal and aim should be an international and interracial one united by a stronger and higher aspiration for the realization of the intrinsic unity of human life. Democracy should not be limited within the national boundaries and in the political arena alone but be elevated to a universal democracy as an embodiment of the deeper sense of brotherhood.

Modern industry, in turn, involves in itself an ele-

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ment of conflict, the struggle between capital and labor, yet the benefits bestowed by it upon all mankind may tend to accelerate this true democracy of brotherhood, first by economic benefits and then through the ideal aim of universal happiness. In other words modern industry, so long and so far as it is regarded as a matter of mere economic interest, would contribute little to the ideal aim of human democracy. But if the leaders of the world, whether the capitalists or workmen, should realize the higher meaning of industry for humanity, it would immensely contribute to the acceleration of the true happiness including all kinds of blessings to nations, races and individuals. Gandhi's protest against mechanical industry may be too negative, but when we regard it as a form of protest against the monopolizing and exploiting system so dominant in modern industrial organization, we might see a meaning in his work pointing in another direction. Similar to John Ruskin's idea of the guild, or the Bolshevik striving for defeating capitalism, or the ideal and practice of non-possession as proposed by a leader like Nishida in Japan, every one of these should not be simply regarded as negative ideas and destructive force, but ought to be turned to the aim of fulfilling the higher spiritual purpose of industry. How this could be carried out is a great problem, but the vital point

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is that there is a possibility of doing this by overcoming the evils and securing the higher benefits of modern industry. It is to be emphasized that this could be done only through supplementing the economic bearings of industry by its moral and spiritual missions; in other words the sanctification of industry, which means its due evaluation not as an end in itself but as a means of attaining the perfect life of mankind.

Science starts with curiosity, steps forward by observation and experimentation, and its goal should be a full grasp of truth underlying natural occurrences and human events. These motives or steps of science are often united. But we can say in a general way that ancient science was chiefly a manifestation of curiosity, while modern science is chiefly engaged in the second stage. Then why could we not expect the third stage, the final aim being realized even now step by step and to be more fully realized in the future? The delight of scientific investigations lies certainly in dissecting complexities, sifting materials, testing hypothetic propositions. Even in carrying out these processes the scientist is happy in discovering something hidden before, in realizing certain principles underlying external manifestations, and finally in identifying his being as a knowing and thinking animal with the truths of cosmic existence. A Hindu proverb says that to know a truth

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is to become the truth. To know the things of the world and human life, to discover the deeper meaning of these, and finally to see the ultimate source of those laws and truths in the cosmic reason or divine wisdom, this ought to be the goal to be aimed at by science, a paradise in which the scientist can live in quest and beatitude.

If this be the nature of science, modern science is certainly nearer the goal than ancient or medieval, because the former was content mostly with apparent analogies of truths and the latter was too certain of its dogmatized teachings, caring little to criticize and to examine. One could easily cite the evils of modern science as manifested in selfish ambitions or vainglories on the part of some scientists. But was the science of any age or nation entirely free from these evils? It is a part of human nature that pride is enhanced by discovery and selfish interests stimulated by unexpected revelations. There is no reason why we should accuse modern scientists only of these evils, which often destroy the real purpose and higher mission of science. The point is whether and how the scientist could realize the higher aims of his pursuit, not only for the sake of benefiting the whole of mankind but by bringing to light the deeper meaning of knowledge in the intellectual and spiritual life of man. Indeed the real scientist

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ought to be a seer looking into the innermost mysteries of existence, a priest revealing divine wisdom for the perfection of humanity, a saint piously contemplating the cosmic soul and blissfully immersed in the bosom of the divine Father. In this state of spiritual beatitude and intellectual bliss the scientist would not feel any contradiction between his experimental method and his pious devotion or contemplative serenity. The only question is how many contemporary scientists are aware of their high mission. There are some and more will come, perhaps many are keeping this ideal in view, as more secrets of nature are coming to light and as scientific investigations go down deeper.

Science in this sense is a way of revealing the truth of oneness of existence, otherwise expressed by Christianity in the teaching of the unique Creator and by Buddhism in the doctrine of one and the same Buddha-nature pervading all. Modern science does so well in its investigations into physical nature but is now remarkably stepping forward to the search of the mysteries of human life, both individual and social, intellectual and spiritual. Modern science has accumulated a wonderful amount of material and secured a mastery of its methods; the consummation should be a fuller realization of its ideal aim of perfecting the fullness of life through the knowledge of truth. A fullness of

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life in developing the best aspects of human nature in all the individuals and in all the groups of man, by giving full opportunities to the dispositions, characters, and talents, as well as to the desires, hopes, aspirations of all mankind—the attainment of the true democracy. A fullness of life in supplying means and tools of human existence and elevating all those materials to the ideal aim of the perfect life—the realization of the moral and spiritual purpose of industry.

This is a very general idea about the constructive and promising side of modern civilization which seems to be coming out in the progress of modern civilization and particularly as the other evil sides of civilization are more and more keenly felt by thoughtful people. In this constructive prospect the mere glorification of modern civilization will have little share; thoughtful consideration will show that our civilization should not be self-contented but be modest and truth-seeking enough to see helpful and supplementary forces to be derived from all the branches of civilization and culture without distinction of ages and races. For as stated above the activity of modern civilization is not entirely contradictory to the dignified composure of medieval civilization, and similarly the progressive activity of the Occident is not an irreconcilable antith-

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esis to the contemplative attitude of the Orient. According to our view those two are opposites united in basic principle, that is, the rich development of life aiming at the final goal of perfecting human life towards the divine.

Existence is continuous in spite of its varieties, life is one in spite of its changes, because things and beings are outcomes of one and the same source, offsprings of the unique Father, creatures sharing in the life, which fills all in all and accomplishes all through all. Any civilization and every effort for progress is only valuable and worthy of human dignity so far as it contributes to a fuller realization of the unity of life. Modern civilization, in spite of its many defects and present anomalies, is certainly a great contribution to this aim and purpose of human life. Direct the motive forces of modern civilization to this ideal aim, let the leaders of civilized societies fully realize the purpose of life. Then we could hope that modern civilization shall succeed in not destroying but fulfilling the best fruits of ancient and medieval civilizations, to no exclusion of the Oriental or any other. Then civilization would be the common heritage of the whole of mankind. For this reason Occidentals should not regard civilization as their monopoly, nor Orientals put obstructions to its spread and expansion. Therein shall vanish the pride and ar-

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rogance of the Nordic or white, the envy and indignation of the Asiatic or colored races. All must go, the vanity of mere activity and speed, as well as the pessimism of a fateful decline of the Occident.

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